13: Hogbin OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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[For additional information on lineage, clan, and village role in a bridewealth transaction, see Category 583.]

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

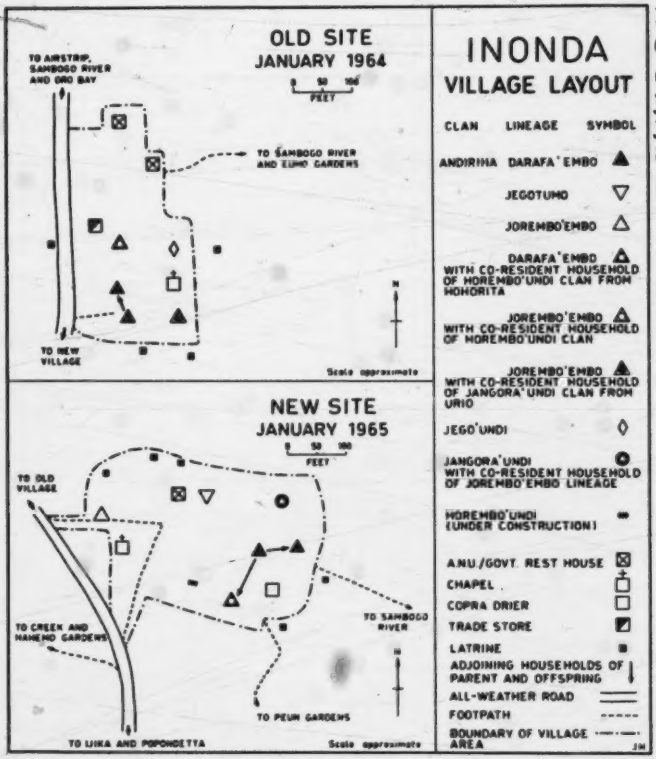

Fig. 4. Inonda village layout.

The leader, a government driver, earned about 65 per cent of the total cash income of the whole village, not only in wages but also through various enterprises on the side. He was the lay preacher as well. The only limit to his influence was the unwillingness of the pagan faction to become involved in 'modern' activities of which he was the champion.

Ecologically, Inonda is characteristic of the alluvial plains region to the east of the mountain. It lies between 200 and 300 feet above sea level, and has a comparatively low rain-fall and long dry periods. Its population density is low: 42 people on a village domain of 2850 acres (less than 10 per square mile). The best Inonda land is 580 acres of coarse-textured recent riverine deposits, covered with forest or regrowth and lying beside the Sambogo and Girua rivers.

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
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intervene, nor can juniors overrule the *enda mama*. In theory, a man who will not accept the decision of the *enda mama* has no option but to leave the village and forfeit his patrimony.

Economically, the *enda mama* is theoretically in full control of all products of the soil and of all resources owned by his family. He also has full control over the allocation of land to family members and others, with the proviso that his sons, if any, should get at least 'half' of the land when he dies.

In summary, the religious, political and economic attributes of the extended family enable us to describe it undoubtedly as a corporate group. It has to be recognised, however, that the parcels of land controlled by this corporation vary considerably from generation to generation. A corporation will shed parcels which are permanently vested in other lineages, and will obtain new parcels from uterine kin and others. Plant (n.d.), Belshaw (1951), Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) have all treated this land corporation as comprising a 'lineage', so that it may seem idiosyncratic that I am calling it an 'extended family'. My reason for changing the description is that I was unable to find any case of an extended family lacking an *enda mama*. There are, of course, lineages comprising more than one extended family, but in such cases one finds more than one *enda mama*. Crocombe and Hogbin, faced with this phenomenon, added the term 'sub-lineage' to their pyramid of segmentary patrilineal groupings, but their small sample contains no case of a 'sub-lineage' comprising more than one extended family. In these circumstances we may well delay discussion of the range of control of the *enda mama* until we examine patrilineal ideology in Chapter X.

We notice, however, an apparent conflict between patrilineal ideology and practice. According to the ideology, an Orokaiva patrimony is passed on from an *enda mama* to his successor; there is no rule for splitting up the patrimony between the sons of a deceased *enda mama*. How does it come about, then, that every extended family has its own *enda mama*? The process is easy to describe. It is customary for an *enda mama* to allocate land to all married men of his extended family on a more or less permanent basis. He has the right to change these allocations when special circumstances arise but changes do not occur often. As the *enda mama* becomes older, and less able to make his own gardens, he tends to distribute more and more plots, either to his sons or to other persons of his choice. Though the patrimony remains undivided in theory, in practice it is being divided. In this subdivision, the rights of brothers are supposed to be equal regardless of seniority.

When the older brother dies, the position of *enda mama* passes to the younger brother. The sons of the elder brother then retain no rights of succession and will depend for their well-being on the new *enda mama*, their uncle, who often adopts them if they are young. If the younger brother dies, and there are no other brothers left, the younger brother's eldest son becomes *enda mama*. The custom in such cases seems to be that the portion of the original patrimony set aside for the elder brother should go to the sons of the elder brother; the portion set aside for the younger brother should go to the sons of the latter. Theoretically the eldest son of the younger brother would be *enda mama* over the entire original patrimony but in practice a gradual splitting up would be inevitable. Orokaiva do not easily accept the authority of their cousins or adoptive brothers.

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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596 In any case, there are no strong economic or political reasons to prevent the
428 splitting of the patrimony. Nor are there religious reasons, because every married
[775] male is fully competent to carry out ritual in the garden he is cultivating. The Orokaiva do not have primogeniture in the sense intended by Raglan (1963:100); it is not in the *enda mama* that the spirits of the ancestors are reincarnated, but in all the individuals of the extended family. The *enda mama*, therefore, is not the sole channel of charisma, but rather a kind of revered manager. He usually contrives to keep the patrimony together through the respect and obedience that is due, in Orokaiva custom, to a father and elder brother. I know of several instances where this authority was challenged and found that, in practice, the sons of younger brothers were not cut out of the patrimony, but their share was cut out and the relationship was severed.

596 Informants were all agreed that at any time either the *enda mama* or the
578 junior member of a land-holding corporation may opt out of the relationship:
593 such a separation involves, first of all, the breaking down of a social relationship in which protection is exchanged for deference and obedience. Therefore such a breakdown involves a high cost for both partners. When I inquired into some breakdowns that actually happened at Sivepe, I was given two kinds of explanation: (*a*) the senior partner broke off the relationship because he was not obeyed; (*b*) the junior partner broke off the relationship because the senior 'did not look after the land properly'. The first kind of explanation suggests that the elder partner, not receiving obedience, no longer received any rewards from the relationship and therefore terminated it. The second kind of explanation is more obscure as I never could find out just *how* the seniors had failed to protect the land. I gather there had been bad harvests, that the juniors thought something was wrong with the land, or that the senior had done something to provoke sorcery which endangered all the land of his lineage. Whatever the details, the juniors felt that the cost of deference to their elder brother was no longer warranted, in view of the amount of 'protection' they received. There was no fear, in any of these cases, that such a separation would be followed by retribution, physical, magical or supernatural. As I showed in Chapter III, the Orokaiva accepts fraternal strife as a natural consequence of events in primal time.

596 When such separations occur within a three-generation extended family, they
613 are regarded by the community as (minor) misfortunes. On the other hand, they
423 are regarded as normal when they occur between first cousins in a four- or
571 five-generation lineage. Implicit in such judgements is a notion that there is a lower and an upper limit to the useful size of corporate groups. The young man who loses land rights because he has nobody to 'speak for him', obviously needs incorporation in a group. The secure man in middle age who has his land interests cut out of the control of the *enda mama* obviously feels that the useful upper limit of the corporate group has been exceeded. We may express the transactions at the lower and upper limit of the useful size of groups in the following exchange cycles:

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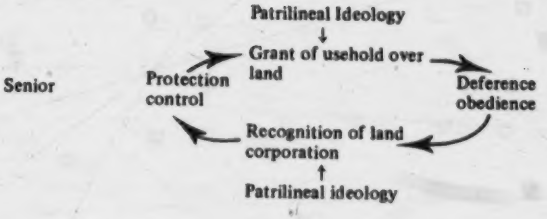
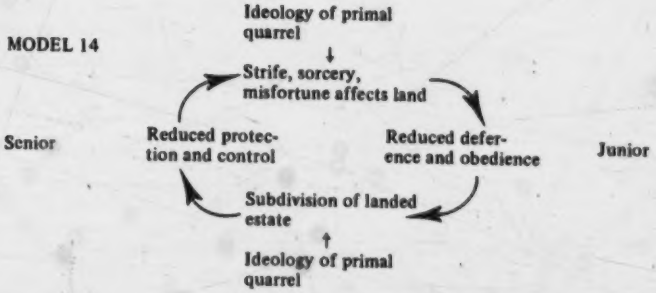
MODEL 13

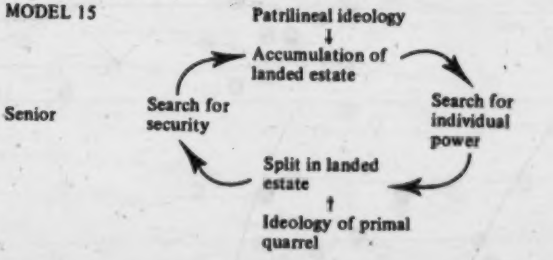


MODEL 14



Models 13 and 14, when considered together, represent two phases of the history of a family. In the first phase a man who has separated out, aided by his sons, establishes his own landed estate. Gradually, he adds to his estate in various ways (conquest, inheritance from maternal relatives, etc.) and he adds to the number of adherents to whom he is *enda mama*. Before two generations have elapsed, the estate thus established will probably be subdivided again. The process of incorporation and subdivision repeats itself *ad infinitum*, and may be expressed in the following cycle:

MODEL 15



5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
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613 Previous research such as that of Rimoldi (1966) has shown clearly enough that the Orokaiva patrilineage is not *in practice* an enduring corporate group. The model I am proposing here goes further: it states a rule according to which [428] patrimonies are fragmented and the fragments constituted into new units. It follows from this rule that neither lineage membership nor the principle of patrifiliation (cf. Barnes 1962, 1967) suffices to account for the inheritance of landed estates.

596 428 The basic condition for inheritance is that there should be a continuing filial or quasi-filial relation, usually based on co-residence and filial services, thus inducing the *enda mama* to make an appropriate response and continue the protection of the real or fictive junior, as symbolised by the transfer of land, often in gradual steps during the *enda mama's* lifetime.

Having shown that patrifiliation is not a sufficient condition for land inheritance, we shall proceed in the next section to show that it is also not a necessary condition. This argument will be followed by an exposition of an alternative model based on the principle of exchange.

5. *Transfers of Land outside the Corporate Group*

423 425 [428] The land transfers so far discussed were conducted between agnates and largely prescribed by rules of inheritance. We have seen that there is some freedom of disposition, as the father is not obliged to transmit more than half of his land to his sons. His freedom is even greater if he has no resident sons or brothers. Even a man with many sons and brothers, and with only limited land holdings, is not prevented from making occasional land transfers, though these are more likely to be on only a temporary basis.

423 425 613 614 The extent of known transfers outside the rules of patrilineal succession has been recorded for the villages of Sivepe and Inonda. In Sivepe more than half of 104 parcels of land belonging to the Jegase clan have been so transferred (Rimoldi 1966:59) whereas only 15 out of 34 gardens investigated were planted by primary members of the right-holding lineage (*ibid.*: 70). In Inonda, the proportion was 20 out of 55 (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:34). Recipients were sometimes members of the same clan but of a different lineage: sometimes they were members of another clan. The whole of the land now occupied by the Andiriha clan of Inonda was donated by the Tandai'undi of Seva in 1915, when they were affines.

423 425 583 [593] [582] Most of these transfers were made to sisters and daughters of the *enda mama* and, by implication, to the men who had married these women. They were most commonly full sisters and full daughters, but there are many cases involving classificatory and adoptive relationships. The making of such gifts depends partly on inclination; a man who greatly dislikes his son-in-law will not settle land on him. If the daughter marries outside a radius of about three miles from the home village, she usually receives no land. Many women who marry in a neighbouring village receive land close to the boundary. The popular explanation of such gifts is the deep love between a man and his sister (or his daughter). There is, however, another consideration which may have encouraged these transfers: the Orokaiva practised preferential patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, so that a village which allowed a woman to cultivate land, while married in an

adjoining village, might receive land at a later date when that woman's daughter married, according to the rule, in her mother's home village. This kind of pattern is described by Hogbin (1967:24) for the Wogeo, who operate a system of land dowries in conjunction with second-degree patrilateral cross-cousin marriage.

Often land is granted, on a temporary or even life-long basis, to persons other than sisters or daughters. Land transfers may arise in a variety of social relationships which cannot be easily categorised. In Inonda, where the village domain is rather large, land is often lent by one lineage to another so that cultivation areas can be close together or contiguous. This is done because people like to work at not too great a distance from one another. In Sivepe, some land loans were made from a similar motive, mostly for rubber gardens. When migrants from Garombi[2] settled in Sivepe, several grants of land were made to them, both for taro and yam gardens. Such arrangements do not usually extend beyond the life time of the recipient although I do know of exceptions. If the gift endures, it signifies a close and permanent bond between families who may be unrelated by kinship.

From the viewpoint I have adopted in this work, two questions are of special interest in the analysis of land transfers: what social benefits are being exchanged between the partners; and what are the symbolic motives for using land as an object of mediation in these relationships? In order to approach these questions, I shall first cite some situations in which land transfers are of practical use and common occurrence:

1. Land transfers from wife's father to daughter's husband used to be very common, especially in the early years of marriage. A man was expected to help his wife's father with gardening and other tasks, and to stay with him for a year or so. During this period, the father-in-law gave the couple a garden for their own use. On occasion, this might be a garden to which the daughter had been granted a permanent usehold. This type of bride-service is very much on the decline today, as the payment of a substantial bridewealth in money acts as a substitute. I encountered the custom once or twice and found that the son-in-law regarded himself as the father-in-law's 'worker' or servant. We may therefore regard this type of land transfer as offering to the donor the satisfaction of seeing the receiver reduced in social status.

2. In the other types of cases I shall mention, transfers of land do not place recipients in a position of social inferiority. Certainly, in many cases harvest gifts are expected from the borrowers of land but these tend to be small in size and to lack any implications of status difference. For instance, many transfers are made by widowers. These men have a choice between attaching themselves to the family of a son, a daughter or a sister's son. In Sivepe, I found that each of these choices was made twice in a total of six cases with which I am familiar. In all the cases where an old man attached himself to a daughter or sister's son, he made transfers of land to those who looked after him. The choice he makes is prompted primarily by mutual affection but nonetheless his position is greatly strengthened by the knowledge that he has some tangible way of showing his gratitude, namely in the form of land. If he is unhappy with one relative and moves to another, some part of his inheritance will probably move with him.

3. Cripples and widows are often in a similar position. They may need a

611 men showed loyalty to their affines rather than their clansmen. He also noted a
614 widespread tendency for individuals to identify with the maternal rather than the
paternal clan. Evidence on land tenure, presented by Crocombe, Hogbin and
[423] Rimboldi, provides an impressive list of exceptions to the supposed rule of patrilineal inheritance and points, in addition, to the feebleness of links between the local groups making up a dispersed clan.

614 At the time of Williams' study, most Orokaiva villages were composed of a
621 single clan and comprised little more than six households. The Australian
361 authorities used a good deal of pressure to make the Orokaiva consolidate their
199 hamlets into larger villages which could be more easily patrolled, but by 1951 Belshaw reported that most Orokaiva still lived in hamlets. In 1966 I found a good number of one-clan villages, with populations of around fifty, but the majority of the people were concentrated in larger settlements in which at least two local clan groups were residing together.

The local clan group was traditionally the smallest viable military unit, whose duty it was to defend the hamlet territory against outsiders. It had its own military leader, feasting leader, technical and magical experts. In the modern multi-clan village, the corporate scope of the local clan group has declined, as its functions have been taken over by the village. Village feasts, village boundaries, village leadership tend to take the place of the earlier local clan group institutions. Due to these changes, the unity of the local clan group has become more difficult to establish and maintain.

614 Crocombe, Hogbin and Rimoldi have provided full data showing that local
clan groups are often divided into a number of exclusive segments they call
●613 'lineages', which are characterised by putative common patrilineal descent from an ancestor who could often not be named. It is certainly true that we find important units intermediate between the extended family and the local clan group. First, it is possible to list four names of such major units within the Jegase local clan group and the same number within Seho. But the term 'lineage' might be deceptive unless we define it more closely.

614 If we look at the clan segments in Sivepe (it will soon be clear why I prefer
613 not to call them 'lineages'), their real distinctive feature is that they either came
166 to Sivepe as migrants from the same village or as members of the same clan. There is no evidence whatever that, in their village of origin, they would necessarily have been regarded as close kin. Their feeling of being closely related arose only subsequent to migration. The study of Orokaiva migrant groups, even comprising just a few families, easily reveals that they tend to consist of one core family to which others will rally, not because they are related by kinship but because they want to leave, are good friends of the migrating family and, most probably, have some kin or friendship links in the village where the group intends to settle. It is only after arrival there that they may, for ideological and political reasons, create the fiction of being close patrikin. A number of such groups fuse with earlier arrivals into larger units bearing a clan name adopted by all. Hence, for most purposes these smaller units are best described as 'clan segments', though it may be useful to refer to them as lineages when discussing informants' statements concerning the patrilineal ideology by which such groupings are held together.

each separated geographically from its neighbours.[1] There is also Williams' point (W.28) that in 1923 there was unclaimed land adjoining the 'hamlets' in the unit named Wasida (i.e., Jegasi-Sarahu). Like most other districts this consisted of two 'hamlet groups'. Horton (1962:6) says that sometimes villages, which 'are known to have been quite large' and stockaded (cf. Williams 1930:67, 164-6), were separated by tracts of unclaimed virgin land until the time of the suppression of feuding.

This combination for better defence may have been characteristic of tribes throughout the Orokaiva area. We believe, however, that the subdividing of the tribe into discrete named groups of named villages (either district or 'hamlet group') would be unique to the mountain Orokaiva in the culture area; we do not have enough evidence to show if this feature is related to the earlier clustering for safety, and to the greater population density in this tribe.

The emergence of tribal subdivisions at this level, however limited or occasional their independence, seems consistent with the uncertainties encountered by observers in seeking to determine the limits, the local name and the distinctive cultural and linguistic characteristics of the inclusive political unit.[2]

At this point we shall identify the local patrilineal groups to be mentioned in the following resumé of the history of local settlement and then make a preliminary comment on landholding by individuals.

The members of Jegase clan in Sivepe are divided among 4 named subgroups, each claiming to trace its origins to either of 2 contiguous villages occupied by all the ancestors of the Jegase in the neighbourhood. We shall call these subgroups lineages; they are Bebehupa,[3] Sesevopa, Berekipa and Arehu. A fifth lineage called Hambai or Hambai'embo has died out only in the present generation, yet all but the key members of the group and a little

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[1] Seldom does the territory of a 'district' at present clearly appear distinct from others, and that of a 'hamlet group' even more rarely.

[2] Either 'parish' or 'subtribe' could be considered as a term for such a unit within the tribe. But rather than add to the confusion of terms used in descriptions of local organization we retain the terms which we have already adopted.

[3] The suffix -pa (or -ja, female) should strictly be used in addressing or referring to an individual member, but it now seems to be common local usage to refer to a group itself in this way, and we shall follow this usage.

613 general information is already beyond the immediate recall of the surviving Jegase men.

The Sivepe people who belong to Timumu, the second clan represented in our sample, are members of 2 lineages, Pekuma and Hajejopa. Other than clanship the two can reckon no link originating in the 'district' from which both emigrated independently to the neighbourhood of Sivepe; their closely parallel histories of migration, subsequent residence and marriage account for the present firm connection between them.

The largest exogamous groups are lineages, but this rule readily lapses when a lineage achieves a much wider span than average, especially if it becomes scattered for any length of time or in more than one 'hamlet group'.

621 [103] [128] All land around Sivepe and neighbouring villages is divided into named areas which we will call 'blocks'. Each is usually a locality deriving its name from a prominent local natural feature - often a tree or a grove of trees, hence Korinasusu or Korinaturu. For any subdivisions of a block we use the term 'section' and we refer to either 'blocks' or 'sections' as 'parcels' of land.[1] No correlation is implied between the type of a parcel and the type of rights held to it.

423 [428] All land constituting territory of the Jegase, Timumu or others in the neighbourhood is divided into parcels which are the holdings either of individuals or of full brothers. A man's rights and other property are ideally inherited patrilineally. In some circumstances a definitive division of the father's land may be made among his sons before his death. This usually takes place if the sons already have their own households, if the father is no longer very active in village life or if the younger men are [562] only half-brothers. We know of no instances of a daughter receiving a particular share at the time of such an allocation, but we refer elsewhere to circumstances where women hold land 428 (see Appendix E, p.111).[A] In other cases brothers may jointly hold all the land inherited from their father. This seems to apply particularly to instances where a younger brother is unmarried or has taken temporary employment away from the village

[823] [1] People commonly use the name of a block to refer to any parcel of land, for instance in listing their landholdings. They draw attention to any specific distribution of sections of 1 block among different people only when the context requires them to. On Map 2, where 1 man holds adjacent blocks or 2 adjoining sections on 2 adjacent blocks, the boundary between them is not shown. Only boundaries between different landholders are indicated. [B]

A, [See Category 428, p. 111--Analyst] B, [See Category 102, p 40--Analyst]

177 in Papua (Territory of Papua 1908-9:19). In 1904, 4 village
464 constables had been appointed from the peoples along the new road.
625 By 1908 members of the various tribes were peaceably trading with the carriers along the road (Territory of Papua 1907-8:22).

In about 50 years preceding the establishment of their present
166 village the groups now represented in Sivepe had between them
361 been involved in shifts of residence between a series of 14
177 village sites within an area of about 2 square miles adjoining the Sohu River. Informants claimed that they or their ancestors moved from 11 of these under instructions from government officers to amalgamate into larger units. During this period members of several other descent groups have either accompanied them or established independent villages and worked land of their own in
[C21] the same area. Intermarriage among contemporary villages there was common and individuals frequently moved from one to join kin in another.

166 The 4 Jegase lineages can trace the history of their groups
361 back to a point of common origin in the first decade of the
613 century in the village of Simbehata and its 'satellite' Totogata, both on what is now Jegase land hardly a mile from the present site of Sivepe.[1]

(i) Migration 1900-50. The Bebahupa moved from Simbehata to Korogombata[2] and were joined by some members of Usohu living nearby.[3] Except for 3 families which moved out to form Kisisita, Aurija and Andakahambo villages, they remained there until about 1937 when they were asked by the Administration to reunite with these 3 to establish Korinasusu. One of the 2 major pre-war tracks from the coast to Kokoda lay nearby and when Japanese and Australian troops moved along this in 1942 the people abandoned the village and moved into isolated garden huts. Most villagers returned to Korinasusu after the war but 1 group founded Nahihita nearby.

[G57] In 1950 the Administration instructed the Bebahupa of Korinasusu and Nahihita to join the Usohu people living in Gogovosusu and Binduta to form one large village. Up to that time the villages had been confined to Jegase land but because

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[1] For place names mentioned in this section see Map.2.

[2] Mentioned as a 'Jegase village' by Williams in 1923 (W.83), as are Sivepe, Pusahambo and Hanimkumbari (see pp.34-7). He also lists them as Awala villages.

[3] A number of the older Jegase men claimed that the Usohu people formerly regarded themselves as members of Jegase clan.

166 the Jegase people had no land on the Awala-Kendata road nearby,
361 where they decided to build, they acquired rights to house-sites
613 on the road on the land of the Be'ohuahije[1] in return for rights
[425] granted to some members of that clan to build on Jegase land 3
[731] miles away at Awala No.1. The Jegase people had begun to move to the new village, now Binduta, when Mt Lamington erupted. Although they were outside the limits of the area of destruction the people were evacuated for safety.

The Sesewopa, a small lineage, had accompanied the Bebehupa in their moves to Korogombata, Korinasusu and Binduta.

The Berekipa and the Arehu according to the men of Bebehupa, which is the dominant Jegase lineage, are groups which have attached themselves to the authentic part of the clan. The ancestor of 2 of the 3 Berekipa householders in Sivepe had also lived at Simbehata. It is generally conceded that he was a Jegase man but he left Simbehata to establish Euru village and then moved across the Sohu River to Hamburata several miles to the east near the present Kiorota, where he cleared and laid claim to virgin land about 1910.

[682] The father's father (b1)[2] of the oldest householder, another Jegase man from Simbehata village, was killed near Divinikovari in a feud with the Togahau people. On his death his infant son (c1) was adopted by his wife's brother at Hamburata village and his land was taken over by other Jegase men. The son had been named after a Timunu man[3] of Euru village who allocated a parcel of land for his use, when, as an adult, he returned from Hamburata relinquishing any land rights he held there. He gardened for some time on the land of his sister's husband, a Be'ohuahije man but re-established rights to a number of parcels of his father's land which had been controlled by Bebehupa and Arehu lineages in his absence. He founded Pusahambo village on this land about 1920 and was joined by his wife's brother, a descendant of the first migrant from Simbehata to Hamburata. When he died at Pusahambo his sister's son (d2J) married his widow[4] and adopted one of his sons, now head of the second Berekipa household in Sivepe (d3J). This man's son is the third Berekipa household head (e2J).

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[1] The Be'ohuahije formerly lived in the nearby villages of Saunhambo and Hehereta and their land adjoins Sivepe village.

[2] See Genealogy, p.52. A A

[3] For relationship between namesakes (tato) see Williams 1930:96.

[4] See Williams 1930:132: 'There is no rule against marrying out of one's generation.'

A, [See Category 601, p. 52--Analysis]

166 361 613 Neither the man nor his son has every cultivated his patrimonial land at Hamburata although they hunt and fish there. The man makes these periodic visits to affirm his rights as he claims that constant surveillance is necessary to forestall encroachment on his land. His father's brother controls the land in his absence.

By 1930 the members of the Berekipa households who numbered 12 had thus acquired only 5 parcels of land (totalling 9 acres) near Sivepe since the lineage returned from Hamburata 30 years before, and had to rely on other lineages for access to adequate land. [657] After the war the Berekipa were asked by the Administration to move from Pusahambo to a village called Pamba where Arehu lineage was living. They seem to have been largely dependent on the Arehu and on affines elsewhere for planting rights since then.

The Arehu people had founded Totogata next to Simbehata and remained there after the other Jegase people had moved on to Euru and Korogombata. Some members of Bebehupa lineage, in refusing to recognise Arehu as a genuine Jegase lineage, explain that it is an immigrant group descended from a Togahau man of Arehu clan[1] who was adopted as a child after a Jegase raid on the Togahau. The land the group now holds is centred on Simbehata and the Bebehupa, although they take little interest in it, allege that it was acquired when the Jegase man from Simbehata was killed at Divinikovari. The Arehu have retained and strengthened their rights over the years and to all effects have become absorbed into the local branch of the clan, extending their effective ties there by intermarrying with other lineages. When pressed, the only resident male (d4J) even answers questions about the position ascribed to him as one of the agnates in the local group by [578] stressing that he and his father married Jegase women, as if no more need be said. The grandson of the alleged original landholder has disputed the rights of the Arehu man to the parcel of land on which the old village Simbehata was situated.

[657] Several years after the ancestors of the Bebehupa left Simbehata the Arehu were told by a government officer to amalgamate with other Jegase people and with the members of Timumu and Seho clans from Euru and Asina. The village formed on Seho land was old Sivepe with its satellite, Pamba; most of the people stayed there until they fled the Mt Lamington eruption in January 1951.

The Pekuma and Hajejopa lineages of Timumu clan had both joined the Jegase and Seho people in founding old Sivepe. The fathers

[1] This clan today is represented in Sirembi village in Togahau Census Division and possibly in other villages there. In 1923 Williams (O.1) noted that they were also present in the villages of Pororí and Ohamba.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 45]

166 of the 2 senior men of Sivepe had divided their allegiance between
36 branches of the clan at Euru and Soroputa and had exercised rights
●613 to land near both places. Since the death of his father the Pekuma man (d1T) has lived first in Euru and then Sivepe with his mother's kin and later his wife's kin. He and his adopted son (e1T) hold 28 acres nearby but he has never cultivated the land his father used at Soroputa; he sometimes obtains the permission of his father's brother to collect the produce from trees his father planted (see p.24).A

About the time the older Hajejopa man (d15T) established his household at Euru, he was involved in a dispute with his father's kin from Soroputa who wanted him to return or else relinquish his rights to the land his father had cultivated there before settling permanently at Euru. Like the Pekuma man he preferred to settle on the comparatively large landholdings (18 acres) near Sivepe and severed most connections with Soroputa.

73 (ii) Changes following the 1951 eruption. Sivepe-Pamba and
36 Binduta were a few miles outside the area destroyed by the major eruption. Referring to the population of these marginal areas Keesing (1951:3) says that 'after the first panic of scattering... local groupings were in the main able to reassemble in the regional camps with such official aid as was necessary'. Refugees from the west side of the mountain were collected from emergency encampments along the Kokoda road and taken to a regional camp first at Wairope and then at Ilimo near the Kumusi River. The villages of the Jegase and Timumu were included in the danger zone which was defined about 4 months after the first eruption. They were about 7 miles from the summit and the danger area extended for 8 to 12 miles around the active crater.

When the limits of the zone were determined about 3,000 people whose villages were not closed off or who could find kinsmen to live with in resettlement areas outside the zone left the refugee camps. Most of the 2,000 who remained for some time at Ilimo were from the villages such as Sivepe on the more fertile land higher up the west and north-west slopes. Members of our sample however left to live with clansmen or other kin at Awala No.2 on the main [578] road. In the chain of fairly continuous settlements which grew along the road great uncertainty surrounded land use problems. There were frequent moves, uncertain titles, disputes over tenure, and conflicting authority among leaders from different local and kin groups.

Most of these villages were still partially dependent on emergency rations issued to them while breaking in new gardens. Some of the Jegase people in Awala had their own small pockets of land nearby where they planted emergency crops and foraged; some made excursions during the day into the closed area to collect

A, [See Category 428, p.24--Analyst]

food from their abandoned gardens which they found in good condition, apart from the uncontrolled growth of weeds.

No doubt minor adjustments in the distribution of land rights were made in the course of resettlement of the land around Sivepe when the people returned after a year's absence. But they would not have been faced with the major problems met with in the crowded resettlement areas with large numbers of immigrants. When the people of old Sivepe-Pamba returned from the evacuation camp they re-established their village on its old site.

It was not long, however, before the Timumu people became involved in a protracted dispute with members of Kongahambo village (a new resettlement concentration near Sasembata), over garden damage caused by pigs, and in order to avoid more trouble they decided to move further away to build on their land at the present site of Sivepe village. The members of Berekipa and Arehu lineages and of Seho clan remained in the old village until a Patrol Officer asked them to reunite with the Timumu people. Since the Timumu were not keen to move back and since the occupants of the old village agreed with the Patrol Officer's assertion that it was poorly drained, these Jegase and Seho people moved to Sivepe in 1953. They were given permission to build by the Timumu lineage which owned most of the land on the site.

Meanwhile the Bebehupa had returned after the eruption to Binduta where they lived with Usohu people for about 8 years. Then friction between the 2 groups became too great and, following accusations of sorcery, 4 Bebehupa households came to live on pockets of lineage land within the new Sivepe. Their houses are not aligned with those of the Jegase men who arrived earlier but the other 2 clan branches tend to occupy distinct sections of the village.[1]

(iii) The distribution of other clan branches. One Jegase clan branch lives several miles west of Sivepe in Hururuta village. Another group of Jegase splintered from the local branch of the clan after protracted disputes and settled at Kakendetta near Popondetta. The Sivepe people do not know how they acquired land rights there but insist that they voluntarily relinquished all their original rights. The clan is represented in Kiorota, Nahihita and Isoge; Plant (1951: Appendix 3) also reported that there were members of the clan in Kokitate and Pondohe.

A large branch of the clan now at Suin village is said to have moved down from the slopes onto unoccupied land which lay between

[1] The houses of parent and 1 son or a married daughter are usually adjacent but those of additional children are often located elsewhere.

current village of the other or from a village within a mile of it, in 11 cases from within a radius of approximately 3 miles of it (in fact an area only slightly larger than the 'neighbourhood'), while 2 spouses came from outside the tribe. Williams (1930:131-3) speaks of 'a certain degree of local endogamy'. The Aiga village '(in which there may be several clans)...cannot be called exogamous even in theory'.

Belshaw too (1951:15) pointed out that marriage is usually between people whose parents do not live far apart. For this reason he warned that amalgamation of nearby 'hamlets' after the eruption might increase tension between groups linked by marriage. But relationships between affines in Sivepe appeared to be generally close and behaviour relatively informal and friendly when compared with other areas (e.g., Inonda).

Perhaps there is a similar contrast with former practice (see Williams, ibid:106, 114, 128, 131). However, in 1924 in a third area (the Ope or Aiga), the village, consisting as it might of intermarrying clans, was quite free from 'quarrels and ill-feeling' (Williams, ibid:315) and, moreover, it is 'not unusual' for a man to divide his time quite comfortably 'between the villages of his wife's people and his own' with the result that 'the relation between the father's people and the mother's people is, in practice, so friendly and intimate, that the child associates himself almost as readily with the latter as with the former' - 'so close is the intimacy between the two branches of the united family' (1925:407-8, 410).

Individuals freely and frequently change their village of residence, whereas the villages are enduring units. During the years 1957-61 the population of Sivepe and Binduta together averaged 165: there were in the same time no less than 113 movements of individuals into or out of this couple of villages and, according to data collected by ourselves, at least 13 between the 2 villages. The government census statistics reveal neither the cause, exact destination nor frequency of movement by an individual nor are his age or marital status recorded.[1]

(ii) Formal features of the local patrilineal groups. In discussing the local disposition of clans, we have already taken 'clan branch' to denote the representatives of the clan living in one village. We retain the term not only for the Timumu group but also for the members of the 4 Jegase lineages living at Sivepe, even though these villagers do not constitute a group of co-resident agnates with functions to mark it as a distinctive unit within the

[1] Thus the figures do not differentiate between adults and children (see McArthur 1956:324-36).

614 wider grouping of Jegase clansmen in the neighbourhood, which we
613 describe as the 'dispersed clan branch'. This consists of the reputed descendants of Jegase men said to have once occupied together the settlement Simbehata-Totopata on the territory since associated with the group. It now has its largest single nucleus at Sivepe but includes also the Bebehupa men scattered in other villages, who recently separated from other members of the lineage now at Sivepe.[1]

Several writers have described one order or another of localized patrilineal groups in this census division as lineages (Belshaw 1951:2; Reay 1953:115; Norton 1962:3); in calling the Sivepe groups lineages, we have maintained some consistency with the terminology used for their formal counterparts in the survey at Inonda.[2]

Each lineage in our sample at Sivepe retains a name said to have been transmitted from some remote patrilineal ancestor and each shares a distinctive plant emblem, erahu, associated with its identity as an agnatic group (see Appendix D).[A] Williams (1925:410) notes that the erahu of matrilateral kin is used by householders to mark their distinctive personal identity within their patrilineal group.

The adult male membership of lineages represented in the sample, excluding absentees who have moved from the neighbourhood, ranges from 1 (Arehu lineage) to 9 in the case of the Bebehupa members of the dispersed clan branch. Members of each group trace precise genealogical relationships to one another. All the Bebehupa men with one possible exception can do so. Genealogical memory is short. Ancestry can be traced back to men of the generation of

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[1] We should emphasize that the 'clan branch' and 'dispersed clan branch' are not groups at different levels of a hierarchical lineage structure and that the distinction is a device for discussing the Jegase groups in question.

[2] At Sivepe we found that the use of the term ahije (or haije) was
608 not restricted to reference to the founder of a lineage as at
184 Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:17). Any members of Jegase clan are called Jegasetahije and the founder of the clan is also their ahije. Moreover, the term may be used in another sense both to refer to any of ego's male cognatic ancestors or to denote any (or all) of a man's immediate cognatic descendants. Similarly epihe, said by Norton to refer to a lineage seems to be used rather for ego's maternal uncle or grandfather, paternal grandfather, etc., epimane (pl.) being a term for a number of these kinsmen, not for a number of lineages or a clan. Unlike ahije, this term is not used for descending generations too.

A,[See Category 613, p. 110--Analyst]

613 the father's father of the oldest members of the dispersed clan
614 branch but the specific kinship relationships between these ancestors are forgotten.

The Jegase people do not name a putative founder of the dispersed clan branch. Nor do they assume that the eponymous ancestors of its subgroups were brothers. The single site of settlement of the ancestors of Jegase men in this neighbourhood is their only recognized evidence of common origin. But this focus of their common identity still offsets the more recent attenuation of intra-group relationships owing to dispersal. The lineages emerge as contrasted co-ordinate group-segments because their histories have diverged since they jointly occupied one territorial centre. There is no fiction of opposition between segments in genealogical terms.

Informants sometimes indicated a sense in which certain lineages are considered closer to each other than to the rest of the dispersed clan branch. This type of alignment seemed to be associated with a joint historical identification of these lineages with a part of their group's territory. It is possible that this in turn is due to a closer patrilineal connection now forgotten, but the people do not venture on this type of explanation.

(iii) Authority and land control in the descent group. Anthropologists have remarked on the indeterminate system of leadership in Orokaiva villages and descent groups and the lack of formal sanctions for authority, and government officials have found that continued lack of emerging leaders impedes the planning [622] of local government and village reforms. Williams discusses the 'absence of central authority' (1930:325) and the 'entire lack of any ceremony of chieftainship' (W.23): he points out (1930:104) that the titles for 'big men' (embo peni, embo dombo) imply only that they are 'men of importance who cannot claim to be leaders'.

[888] There was however, a recognized ascendancy of old men. The 'leader and ruler of any clan' was said to be the eldest of its men provided he was equal to the minimal requirements of the position and 'only in the larger clans, where there are well-defined family groups, does the question of hereditary succession appear, and then it is a somewhat faint appearance' (1928:125) - but only if the large clans are localized, for he says that where 'the clan is scattered, there is no single leadership' (1925:407). [622] On the other hand Reay (1953:115) says that 'the embo kiti, whom F.E. Williams called a "clan headman", but who is really more of a village headman whose position is hereditary within a certain lineage of the clan, has a limited authority which is backed by no sanctions' (embo kiti: first man).

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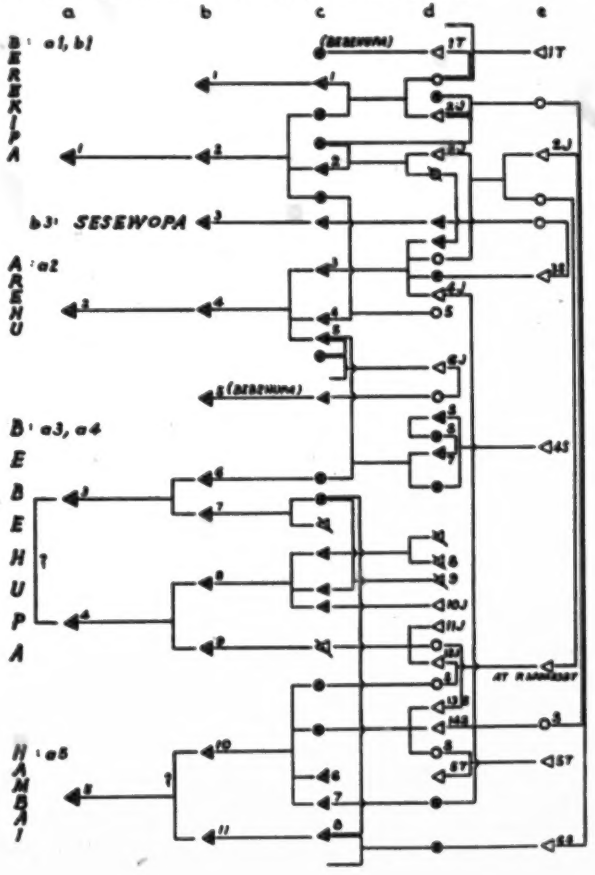
A GENEALOGY OF THE SAMPLE

△ Adult male at Sivepa ○ Female ◀ Deceased ⊗ Resident of nearby village. Significant non-agnatic kin ties are shown. The numeral and generation of the known ancestor of each Jegase lineage are shown beside the initial of its name. A suffix to numeral identifies Jegase (J) and Timumu (T) householders. Saho members are denoted by S (preceded by a numeral for Sivepa householders)



G24 Residential units created for administrative purposes seldom had a single focus of allegiance. In the case of Sivepe, the officials appointed by the government in separate villages were thrown together in one village and were later replaced by the local government councillor.

In the mixed post-eruption settlements too, Keesing (1951:9-11) noted conflicting authority between men of different descent groups. Leadership had to be bureaucratically imposed and 'there were no signs of a self-motivated [political] superstructure taking form other than the strengthening of scattered clan ties'.

●613 557 Varying definitions have been given of corporate descent groups whose representatives might be said to have legitimate control of land among the mountain Orokaiva: Norton (1962:2-7) describes the embo dombo as a man 'who by virtue of being the senior member of a lineage and by having a superior knowledge of land matters, is regarded as the chief authority in the lineage', and says that the composition of the land controlling group varies from 1 or a number of lineages within the clan to the entire clan. [614] There are said to be as many embo dombo in a landholding group as there are lineages yet he later maintains that

> in each 'clan' a male member, by virtue of his age, his seniority in a descent group and knowledge of the land, has a recognized authority over any matters affecting the activities of the clan of which he is a member and particularly on land affairs. There may be one such man in a 'clan' or a number and he is known as the Embo Dombo.

Norton suggests that every male member of the controlling group is an enda mamo (master of the land), and that the term has sometimes been incorrectly identified with a 'chief land holder'.

Belshaw (1951:2-3) states that the 'minor lineage', constituting all or part of a 'hamlet', shares land and works it together. But particular members 'through their slightly different relationship connections sometimes have senior claims to different areas of land' and a member is enda mamo only insofar as the group is currently cultivating the land to which he has senior claim.

G24 614 Plant (1951: Appendix 2) diverges more from Norton's definition of enda mamo saying that there is one man with this title who is guardian and administrator of land, which is vested in the clan. Although these powers in land matters are more continuous and wider in scope than Belshaw maintains, Plant explicitly distinguishes them from the status of embo (peni) dombo (clan headman). He narrows them further to residual rights to make decisions, in council with clan members, on important matters concerning any of the areas which sections (or segments) of the clan in different

624 614 villages and individual members of these groups have come to regard as their own, since 'usage tacitly becomes ownership'.[1]

Horton's use of enda mamo seems the most accurate whereas we would accept as valid for groups of any order Plant's separation of the status of embo dombo from that of a 'chief land controller' (or of any man with an authoritative local and historical knowledge of land). But we found no evidence to indicate that any person at Sivepe exercises rights to the land associated with either of the 3 clan branches, such as the landrights Plant and Belshaw attribute to the enda mamo or Horton attributes to the embo dombo.

[425 428] Among our recorded cases of land falling without direct lineal heirs, none seems to show that a person such as an embo dombo acquires it by exercising reversionary rights on behalf of the wider agnatic group.

Just as the function of a descent group of given dimension or local organisation is specific to a time and place, the way control over land has devolved among its constituent units closely defines the role of the member (or members) with most influence in issues concerning land, whatever powers he happens to exercise in other connections. The nominal leader of the dispersed branch of Jegase clan is the local government councillor: an assertive middle-aged man, he is senior by any reckoning to other active members of Bebehupa lineage. He has more land than any other Jegase man in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless the scope of his authority in land matters affecting other Jegase men is severely restricted in that the interdependent Arehu and Berekipa lineages have been completely independent of others in the control of their land for the past 50 years.

613 624 [554 614] He retains prestige and influence in many matters of concern to his own lineage. He can claim prominence among more close agnates than a leading man of any other lineage in our sample, even though the Bebehupa have now dispersed from Binduta to Garombi, Nahihita, Kakita, Awala and Sivepe. They now say it is their responsibility as embo bajari (protector or sometimes a co-parcener, especially one responsible for controlling holdings of other heirs) to look after particular parcels of lineage land near these villages.

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[1] Ibid., quoting Williams (1928:125), who is referring to 'sections' (alternatively 'branches' and 'families'). See Horton (1962:8): the tacit permission of the clan for individuals and their descendants to use a vaguely demarcated area is not a 'permanent or ultimate authority vested in the individual by the passage of time.... This in no way grants the man or his successors ownership rights in it' (ibid.:9).

613 624 Actually no power has been delegated by the leader of their lineage. They are de facto custodians to the extent that circumstances had forced them to leave their original village and each selected a place to settle convenient to one of the areas where he could exercise individual rights to patrimonial or other land. They could at the same time protect the interests of other members with landholdings nearby. Although they refer to this trust as Bebehupa land, the reciprocal obligations seem to have followed on a mutual agreement reached by particular individuals.

It is however in this group that the councillor still expects to exert most influence in the discussion of general affairs. Within it he has a recognized standing as the largest landholder. On this account his opinion and knowledge of the locality are respected also by Jegase men of other lineages. Besides, they share many boundaries with other Bebehupa men and with members of Binduta and Awala villages among whom he could conveniently serve as a representative of their interests, having closer ties with these villages than they.

Otherwise his powers outside the affairs of the dispersed Jegase lineage are related to his position as councillor. He and another councillor were elected by Sivepe, Binduta and Awala villagers before he left Binduta and attached himself to Sivepe. In this capacity he receives no more support from other Jegase men in Sivepe than from the rest of the village. In 1963 a young man of another Jegase lineage there, with considerable support from voters within Sivepe, was a rival candidate for councillor for the 3 villages but was unsuccessful.

613 614 423 We have so far discussed only the powers of Bebehupa men, either in their lineage or in the clan branch. The other Jegase men enjoy rights of land control which are even more limited. The proprietary rights now held by each householder of the Berekipa-Arehu part of the clan branch were acquired by him independently of the others. Although there is frequent interchange of planting rights and consequent discussion among them as to the allocation of their resources none of the 4 could claim of right an equal voice in the control of the others' land. Again, each of the 2 Timumu lineages had settled independently in the neighbourhood of Sivepe by acquiring land from sources inaccessible to the other.

Associated with the weakness of central control over land of smaller groups on clan branch territory is the complete freedom each landholder has in granting usufructuary rights, provided due consideration is given to the anticipated physical needs of any joint heir (i.e., a sibling) or of any dependents for whom he is responsible. Each thus maintains relationships with other

C13 423 individuals by creating and fulfilling obligations independently of other members of the descent group.

(iv) Landholding by the local patrilineal groups. After a closer look at landholding by the lineage, we will comment first on non-agnatic and adoptive relationships in connection with land acquisition and then on the interests in affiliation to the dispersed clan branch as a group associated with a territory.

In the instances recorded of title to subdivisions of a lineage's land having descended in 2 or more separate lines we refer to the landholders as members of distinct 'genealogical branches' of the lineage, even if the landholders are parallel cousins. The type of lineage we describe, however, is not characterized by regular internal structure, for often it is not easy to distinguish lineage from kinship in terms of function.

[17] [611] It is as true of the mountain Orokaiva as it is of most New Guinea Highland societies that

> the principle of recruitment to a man's father's group operates, but only concurrently with other principles and is sanctioned not by an appeal to the notion of descent as such but by reference to the obligations of kinsfolk, differentiated according to relationship and encompassed within a span of only two or three generations.
>
> (Barnes 1962:6)

C13 The solidarity of the current relationships between the males of the lineage can be regarded as a function of the closeness of the ties of agnatic kinship, real or adoptive but of close degree, which among the Jegase and Timumu[1] are effectively reduced to a lineal relationship between, at the most, 3 generations of householders. The strength of the readily noticeable identification of the lineage with an estate distinct from the land of the rest of the dispersed clan branch can be seen as a measure of the interdependence between these close agnates.

A lineage such as those in our sample is the largest group whose members co-ordinate their gardening activities to exploit land associated with it. But against this must be set the independence often exercised by individual lineage members, who, in consolidating other ties of their own, acquire and dispose of short-term landrights. Perhaps some individuals co-ordinate their activities with non-agnatic kin, affines and friends as much as with members of their own group.

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[1] Excepting the Bebehupa: all but 1 of its members (see b6) are descendants either of its oldest surviving man or of his father's brother.

613 It is characteristic of the lineage that some mutual consideration is given by its members to each other's immediate expectations. This would appear consistent with the fact that it is only within the lineage that there is mutual anticipation among agnates that their land is the assured and exclusive patrimony of junior members.

Even members of a lineage with no single local nucleus in neighbourhood villages may be more closely associated in the tenure of land than are a large number of agnates living in one village but representing several different lineages. The Sivepe Bebehupa hold contiguous subdivisions of far fewer blocks of land with their co-resident agnates than they share with Bebehupa members living elsewhere, but considerably more than the Bebehupa outside Sivepe share with the other lineages. The dispersed Bebehupa claim that their members recognize certain exclusive though minor land rights and obligations (see p.55-6).

The members of a lineage do not trace an exact relationship with the group's founder but they attempt to reckon descent from the ancestor who is believed to have established their rights to lineage land. These rights were established in various ways.

The Bebehupa assert that the ancestors they are able to name acquired by right of original settlement the large share of Jegase territory occupied continuously by their descendants. On the other hand, when the Berekipa and Arehu tell of ways an ancestor gained control of parcels they now hold, the only common element which emerges is acquisition by reactivating rights once held by patrilineal ancestors.

614 No land is shared by the clan branch as a whole. With no significant areas of rainforest[1] or grassland in the area, all land has been claimed long ago as gardening land by lineages of various clans. There are considerable differences in the land areas available per head of population to the representatives of each age and their dependents in our sample. These areas are:

Bebehupa (18 persons), 64.1 acres, 3.6 acres per head)
Arehu (3 persons), 14.9 acres, 5.0 acres per head) Jegase
Berekipa (12 persons), 12.7 acres, 1.1 acres per head)
Sasewopa (1 person, not included in sample) 3.8 acres)

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1 The large area north of Sivepe covered by rainforest in 1953 (see Map 1) is land held by Soroputa villagers. Before Mt Lamington erupted, there were only 3 small villages (Soroputajajemo, Togorisusu and Handarisusu) in the area between Sivepe and Agenahambo. These 3 villages of the Soroputa 'district' were in 1953 almost certainly still at the post-eruption settlement named Soroputa. Most immigrants to this village had not decided to return to their land nearer the volcano by 1956.

A. [See Category 102, p.8--Analyst]

597 rights he has already received from his natal group before he may acquire proprietary rights and become a permanent member of the adoptive group. He may transmit the former rights to his sons, themselves full members of the new group.

As long as he stays with this group and land is not in short supply he may inherit an equal share with his adoptive father's [425] children. All rights are relinquished if he returns permanently to his natal group. If the land held by the adoptive group is scarce and extensively used by its members, he may become a permanent member of this group without acquiring rights to its land, especially if he was not previously related to the group or if he has access to other land.

An adoptee can continue to exercise his rights to land of his father if it is nearby but it may be difficult for him to retain land which is too far away to cultivate often and, unless he has close kin there protecting his interests, his rights and group identification tend to be contested.

The way rights are established by adoption, as with rights acquired by other processes, cannot be predicted far in advance for the actual rearrangment of proprietary rights in any particular case will be determined by the current relations between the parties involved.

425 By way of example, one man born into Ato clan is living with
597 his wife's lineage, Bebehupa (of Jegase clan). He has no other close kin and Awala is the nearest place of residence of any member of his natal clan; he is widely and consistently spoken of as a Jegase man (dóJ). When his father, a member of Heherita village, was accidentally killed when trying to mediate in a violent dispute between his clansman and Jegase people, his mother married a man of Arehu lineage. He was never given rights to plant on his foster father's land because it was under heavy use but he inherited some land near the Jegase holdings from his father. His wife also inherited land from her father, a Bebehupa man, who had no sons or brothers, and he has sometimes cultivated that.

However, due to serious illness, he is not active in the social and political affairs of his foster father's and affines' local descent group. As he is in a dependent and marginal social position and can use land of his own, his intermittent efforts to cultivate the Bebehupa land are not warmly welcomed by the leader of this lineage, regardless of the stated intentions of both the adoptee and his wife, a childless couple, to pass the land which each inherited to the sons of the Bebehupa leader.

● 613 In practice there are no land rights and obligations which the
614 different Jegase lineages recognize toward each other as members

613 of the dispersed clan branch and the only effective rights held in
614 common by the Jegase members of Sivepe are those shared by members of the village as a whole (see p.22). A A

[423] In land matters, as in other affairs, the closeness of personal ties between specific individuals in the Jegase group is usually of more account than shared membership of the dispersed clan branch - whether or not these interpersonal connections are agnatic: the dispersed clan branch is not exogamous and no preference is expressed for marrying out. In fact the 3 lineages, Bebehupa, Arehu and Berekipa, have been linked by several marriages in recent generations. In many circumstances the resulting network of cognatic and affinal ties is more important than lineal ties in determining what decisions are made or what action is taken.[1]

When the land of another local lineage of the clan is used for gardening, the usufructuary rights are granted and exercised more often because the landholder and gardener have a personal kinship relationship than because they are neighbouring clansmen.

614 The web of interpersonal kinship is, of course, not confined to the local agnatic group but pervades relationships between the clan branches in this and other villages in the neighbourhood, as indicated by the data on the range of Sivepe marriages and on the complex ties which either spouse (or both) is often found to have in the village where the couple reside. For several decades a constantly changing network of cognatic and affinal ties has linked members of a number of kin groups who have continually grouped and regrouped themselves as local units like Sivepe and its forerunners.

The dispersed clan branch is a significant reference group in
[613] land matters even though it has no land held in common by all members. Responses to initial enquiries about land rights of members of patrilineal groups always indicated that the Jegase lineages together in some contexts consider themselves to be one unit which is distinguished from the branches of other clans represented in Sivepe and other villages. It is not easy to discern the real interests which this response reflects.

The dispersed branch of a clan is the most enduring group which is acknowledged by all to be associated with a particular territory; a person's affiliation to this group is the standard rationale of his presence in the village and neighbourhood in which he lives and works. Ultimately the general basis for the tenure by any group within the dispersed clan branch, of its own share of land

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[1] We noticed that the importance of non-agnatic ties is sometimes reflected in choices in the use of kinship terms.

A. [See Category 423, p.22--Analyst]

614 is the claim, however well founded, that this was part of the local ancestral land of men of their own clan.

The affirmation of the common territorial interest of the group of Jegase clansmen in the neighbourhood would occur only when we were proceeding with a series of enquiries both into the boundaries of the scattered parcels held by smaller groups or by individuals and into the source of their rights. This suggested that, in view of the frequency of individual transfer of parcels of land among non-agnates, the explicit assertion of the unity of the enduring group and its territory may be an ex post facto argument. This is both an affirmation of common grounds for legitimate land claims of individuals and lineages, irrespective of the actual origin of their rights, and also the most decisive means of differentiating clearly one parcel of land from adjacent holdings of members of other clans.

The appearance of a patrilineal ideology in this context might be expected of members of a loose-knit descent group with a territory interspersed with territories of other members of the local community in which an elaborate network of non-agnatic and affinal ties plays an important part in each individual's life. 571 602 It is by virtue of such interpersonal ties, hardly less than by shared membership of a local patrilineal group, that close face-to-face contacts and bonds of friendship are maintained, mutual [425] assistance is offered, temporary rights to land are exchanged and, [428] by these means, claims to inherit land are established in many circumstances.

d. Patterns of landholdings

614 There are 60 blocks altogether which are either wholly or partly made up by one or more of the parcels held by the sample A (138 acres in all). In general each block is held by members of a single clan branch but 3 are divided so men of each of the 2 sample groups hold sections. In other instances members of different clans and of other villages hold a contiguous section [613] of the named area but these were not measured. Eleven blocks were subdivided between 2 lineages of the same clan and just on half the total number of blocks contain internal boundaries between different householders in the lineage. No 2 householders are regularly associated with one another in the holding of rights in [613] the subdivided blocks.[1] The distribution of these and other parcels of the lineage land among its members is almost random.

[1] In one instance 2 men (who are brothers) held adjacent sections of several blocks but these sections represent only a small proportion (by area or number of parcels) of the landholdings of either man.

A. [See Category 601, p. 52--Analyst]

614 clan branch claim that in the years before contact Jegase men extended their control over areas of land northward from this area toward the territory of the hostile Togahau and Divinikovari. They claim that this expansion was restricted by pressure from enemies but it is difficult to determine how often open conflicts preceded settlement in these outlying areas or how much it was limited rather by expansion of descent groups within the tribe or of other local groups.

The pattern of fragmented landholdings of local clan branches is said to be due to the fact that members of allied clans would move into an area of unoccupied land about the same time to clear contiguous areas. Any descent group which later found its holding no longer adequate for immediate needs and wished to open up new land would often find the surrounding land already settled and would move to the edge of the area so far appropriated as gardening land by the members of these groups. The explanation sometimes given for the existence of an enclave of one clan branch's land within another's is that a Jegase man, for instance, had lived with the Seho people holding the larger area and had cleared virgin land near them.

[476] The men exploiting new land often worked in association with some of their co-resident clansmen but the apparent lack of regular co-operation between members of patrilineal groups larger than the expanded family in opening up unoccupied land may account for some of the present scattering of clan branch land or even of the areas occupied by separate branches of 1 clan.[1]

[425] Informants stated that the initiative in establishing rights to previously unoccupied land was taken by individual cultivators and that the land which they acquired was retained by their lineal descendants.

[613] Some people suggested in answer to our questions that subdivision and further fragmentation of areas of Jegase territory, now identified with one or other of the lineages, occurred where large numbers in successive generations settled within, and made more extensive use of, one after another of the areas where an ancestor had been first to claim land or had at some stage effectively occupied it.

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[1] Norton (1962:6) gives a similar explanation of fragmentation and suggests that it occurred more often after the extension of administration control when the co-operation between members of separate clans formerly residing together for mutual protection was carried over into the activity of opening up areas further afield from their village.

613 Overall the land of Berekipa lineage is more fragmented, though less scattered than the holdings of the Bebehupa, which are larger.

From detailed accounts of completed land transfers between the Berekipa and Arehu, whose present holdings are mostly interspersed[1] near the sites of Simbehata and Pusahambo, and from other historical data we infer that this land previously formed far more continuous tracts belonging to descent groups such as these. To a noticeable extent the spatial relations between the shares of the Bebehupa, Berekipa and Arehu in the extended tract of Jegase land marked by the sites of former settlement can be construed as a teritorial correlate of the pattern of each lineage's ancestors' migrations to or from local groups there. The shifts of residence relevant today are remembered in some detail.

e. Land use and mobility

241 Williams (1928:156) advocated a change from shifting to sedentary agriculture for the Orokaiva on the grounds that the former was wasteful of land and labour, and that the tendency to form small independent settlements resulted from the 'lax method of horticulture which necessitates the clearing of many areas in succession and sometimes a temporary settlement on a distant site'. He considered shifting agriculture to be 'one of the most potent causes of village and clan disintegration'.

[36] Keesing (1951:8) noted that the mountain Orokaiva had generally resisted the post-war movement to consolidate into larger villages. So long as the 'mobile economic base' persisted, he considered that resettlement into larger permanent villages after the Mt Lamington eruption would be unlikely to succeed. The Orokaiva showed no inclination to adopt more intensive sedentary cultivation and he predicted that a return to shifting agriculture would involve 'seasonal movement' outward from the environs of the settlements to new cultivation areas, and later the resumption of settlement in scattered hamlets. In view of these assertions about the connection between agricultural practice and settlement patterns, upon which Williams and Keesing based their discussion of economic development, it may be useful to examine the relations in Sivepe between mobility and village stability on the one hand, and traditional land use on the other.

62 [36] [72] Keesing suggests that the tendency, mentioned by Williams, for the Orokaiva to disperse into smaller residential units since pacification had been particularly marked on these heavily populated slopes. The suppression of intertribal feuding probably

[1] To a lesser extent they are also interspersed with parcels of other lineages' land.

166 [342] Individual mobility is still high, as we have already noted. Mobility is facilitated by the fact that material for housing - vange timber framework, blackpalm floor, walls and roof-thatch from sago trees[1] - is usually readily available and houses have an average life of only 4 years.

36 [621] The patrol of 1948 which found this area 'literally a mass of small hamlets' alludes to a possibility that the proliferation of these groups had become conspicuous only 'since the Japanese invasion'.[2] The long-term trend after the 1951 eruption, the next catastrophe to cause displacement of population comparable with the wartime upheaval, was towards effective consolidation instead of the proliferation of small groups, such as the scattering of post-invasion days.

361 178 621 [177] When people began to leave the evacuation camp there was a spontaneous trend, which was encouraged by officials, towards building larger villages or, alternatively, clusters of 'hamlets' within sight of each other (Belshaw 1951:5 ff.).

Plant (1951:6) and Belshaw (1951:6) suggested the following reasons for this tendency: that reconstruction would be easier if large numbers of neighbours co-operated; that the renewed interest in co-operatives led to a desire for larger groups; that the example of Ilimo Camp had given people the notion that larger groupings were correlated in some way with higher standards of living; that the Europeans, whose goodwill was now evident, favoured bigger settlements; and finally that their common disastrous experience had reinforced their sense of unity.

62 Although the present-day villages are smaller than those established at the start of the resettlement before the danger area had again been occupied, they are considerably larger than their counterparts of pre-eruption days: Belshaw (1951:2) says that the population of 'hamlets' in the area was of the order of 20 to 80 and the population of the 'hamlet group' under one name ranged from 150 to 400. At present in the Saiho Census Division the average population of the residential unit, in nearly every instance a nucleated village, can be no less than 175.[3]

[613] [1] Some informants stated that materials (except sago) could be collected from any village members' land but most claimed they sought wood only from lineage land unless invited to use trees by particular kin from other groups.

[2] This report was probably the major source of Belshaw's and Keesing's information on the pre-eruption situation.

[3] We do not know the average size of a group of villages known by a 'hamlet group' name such as Awala, Waseta, etc.

241 171 361 With the passage of the cultivation cycle over a Chimbu sub-clan's territory, gardeners move from one men's house to another, either as a persisting group of agnates working contiguous holdings, or as individuals joining more transient groups which are dissolved as gardens near the house revert to fallow (ibid:98; Brown and Brookfield 1959:68). As they extended their cultivation to other areas, 37 per cent of a sample of 193 men had moved from one men's house to another over a period of 16 months (Brookfield and Brown 1963:98) and the men's houses themselves last no longer than 5 years (ibid:12).

241 In Sivepe on the other hand, gardens tend to be scattered and isolated. Father and son often have adjacent plots in one garden area but the son usually has at least 1 other garden elsewhere. A young married man often has 1 garden on the land of his wife's father, whom he will periodically assist in his garden. Older men in general adopt the technique of progressively planting and clearing a single large area while younger and more active men, usually with more obligations to affines, tend to cultivate several scattered smaller plots.

[621] [602] There is no local group or extended kinship group which commonly combines to make a block of contiguous gardens. Even when all members of the village plant simultaneously for a special feast, the gardens are not adjacent. A man usually takes advantage of the choice of exercising planting rights on the land of a wide range of kinsmen (not necessarily his agnates), both those within the village and to a lesser extent kinsmen from other villages. Several had current gardens on their mother's brother's land, some on the nearby land of their wife's brother, sister's husband or daughter's husband.

613 614 184 In other Orokaiva areas (such as Inonda) gardeners of one lineage often have a reciprocal arrangement with another lineage of the same clan in the village to cultivate a parcel of their land with them, but this is not a common practice at Sivepe. In the few cases where several kinsmen have made adjacent gardens the gardeners are mostly cognatic kin from different clans or villages and each will probably make his next garden with different kin or on an isolated parcel.

166 171 425 Encroachment on boundaries is feared[1] but does not seem to result in repeated changes of residence as it does among the

[578] [1] The 3 instances of boundary disputes recorded were between Bebehupa and Usohu people. According to the older men the Usohu were formerly a Jegase group and they share many boundaries with the Bebehupa; the recent split in Binduta between the 2 groups has been accompanied by friction over a number of issues including the definition of boundaries.

Table 5

Rights to land currently cultivated by the sample

Nature of planter's rights to the land currently gardened	No. of gardens	Area of gardens (acres)	
1. Planter is a member of lineage holding proprietary rights	15	9.17	
2. Member of a different lineage but same clan branch	5	2.57	
On land of planter or co-resident agnate			11.74
3. Member of a different clan within the same village	10	4.49	
4. Member of another branch of the same clan	1	0.10	
5. Member of a different clan and village	3	1.51	
On land of others			6.10
	34		17.84

Notes: 1. Of the 5 members of other clans or villages who were using the sample's land, 2 were using the land of their mother's brother's sons, 1 the land of his sister's son and 2 the land of members of their dispersed clan branch in a village other than their own.

2. For rights to land carrying cash-crops see Ch.4, Section c. and Ch.5, Section b.

Chimbu or to influence the choice of a garden site; a Sivepe man shares land boundaries with many gardeners but his prescriptive rights to his holdings are not so constantly jeopardized if he fails to cultivate his land while neighbours are using adjacent areas (see Brown and Brookfield 1959:25).

Moreover with short periods between successive cultivations and with necessarily extensive total areas used for cultivation a man claims to be able to fix boundaries on fallow land in some detail. These are either demarcated by large trees or shrubs at fixed points or coincide with the courses of the numerous creeks or with roads. The boundaries common to members of different clan branches appear to be neither more nor less clear than those shared by smaller groups'.

A, [See Category 245, pp. 83-86; Category 249, pp. 87-93; Category 423, pp. 95-98--Analyst]

425 f. Local organization and land transfers

(i) Land use. The use of land is necessary in two senses to validate a land claim among these Orokaiva. Usage is an important factor in determining the extent to which land is identified with the component units of the group which claims to hold land (cf. Williams 1928:125 and Plant 1951: Appendix 2).

425 184 Four factors have produced a closer identification between a household and the patrimonial land it cultivates than in some other Orokaiva areas: first, the frequency with which an adopted member retains and transmits to his own descendants land which he acquired from his natal group; second, the limited supply of land; third, continual use by people of the lineage land used by and inherited from their fathers, in that no special access to land of other lineages of the clan branch is accorded to them simply as a group of co-resident agnates; and fourth, a fertile soil which allows a short fallow cycle after single plantings of a predominant soil-exhausting crop.

613 428 [848] It has been common practice for distinct genealogical branches within the lineage to exercise continuous and exclusive rights to separate areas of lineage land. The small group within which these prescriptive rights are exercised and transmitted does not easily endure demographic changes and if there are no surviving male members, the rights it exercised may in certain circumstances devolve on a female member, for instance, and subsequently to her son, even if he is illegitimate, or perhaps a claim of a relatively close agnate will be overridden in favour of a distant clansman, with or without other cognatic ties to the group. When these rights are transmitted outside the direct male line, residence and land use are important as factors which influence the definition of the rights of the beneficiary vis-a-vis surviving members of the wider patrilineal group. As noted above the scope of the authority of members of the wider group in questions of land tends to have been limited by the frequent independent movement of the smaller units.

425 [606] [614] Our descriptions of the kinship composition of the village and neighbourhood and of the social elements of land use indicate that it is common to find men living and gardening in the same village or neighbourhood as their mother's or wife's kin and that the relationship with these people in certain cases overlays some patrilineal affiliation. Individual ties of clanship too are sometimes given new significance when reinforced by co-residence and exchanges of gardening rights. These patterns, we suggest, are correlated with repeated instances of transfers of prescriptive land rights from the small effective landholding group to kinsfolk of other lineages or clans.

245 coffee gardens.[1] About 320 trees were planted on the Sivepe plot. It was not government policy to encourage community gardens, but those who made the garden were under the impression that this was the wish of the officer who suggested that the people in the villages plant coffee.

Clearing of this 'company' garden was carried out jointly by members of all Sivepe clan branches. A part of the land they used belonged to a Timumu lineage and the rest to a Jegase lineage. [G54] While the trees were maturing an agricultural extension patrol told them to stop working the gardens jointly and to make new individual gardens. In 1957 a Cadet Patrol Officer gave the same advice explaining that disputes would otherwise occur about the distribution of income from coffee sales.

● [G13] It was decided to divide the Sivepe coffee along pre-existing lineage boundaries; one part was taken by a man of Hajejopa lineage of Timumu clan, the other by a Seho man (e3S) who is the husband of the only surviving member of the Jegase lineage, Sesewopa. Even after this had been done these men claim to have shared the small amount of money from the first sales with the other planters.

Since the division the Timumu man has indicated that he claims the land as far as a creek which formed the outer boundary of the village plot on the Seho man's side, i.e., that he believes all the coffee was planted on his land. Even though the Seho man applied in 1960 to have his section on his wife's land registered with the Higaturu Council, he now intends to give it to the Timumu man and to plant new coffee on his own land.

The other 3 gardens were planted on a household basis in 1957.

Two men from other clans have planted coffee on the land of Jegase men in Sivepe. One garden was made about 5 years ago by a Seho man from Sivepe (e4S) on the land to which his father had planting rights. The land had earlier been held by a man who was the wife's brother and sister's husband of the present planter's father. The holder of the residual rights passed them to his classificatory sister's son from Berekipa lineage who some years ago used the Seho man's land for subsistence gardens.

The other garden is on the land of a Bebehupa man and was made by his father's sister's son, an Usohu man from Binduta. The Usohu man was given rights to plant sago and coffee because he had been named after the landholder's father's father.

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[1] In August 1955 an area 30' x 40' was reported to have been cleared and planted with shade under the direction of the Village Constable.

Appendix D

Plant emblems[1]

613 [824] The members of Bebehupa lineage have the plant-emblem commonly associated with the dispersed clan branch, sesevo grass,[2] as their lineage emblem or erahu.[3] The Sesevopa lineage is a small group closely associated with the Bebehupa people for many years and informants, when asked to explain its name, suggested that it was descended from a Bebehupa woman and that the new lineage referred to its ancestress by the name of the erahu of her group, i.e., as Sesevoja, and themselves became known as Sesevopa. This explanation may reflect the present relative numerical strength of the groups and the process of segmentation may have been quite different in fact.

One unnamed genealogical branch of the Bebehupa lineage has taken the esege bush as an additional erahu. The Berekipa asserted that in practice they as a group would never use sesevo as an emblem, though they accept it as having been the emblem of Jegase men in this neighbourhood. Both the name 'Berekipa' and their own erahu, the simboro plant, were adopted (in circumstances which we could not ascertain) from the so-called 'people' of both the mother of the senior householder, and of the patrilineal ancestor of the other householders. We could not fix any historical details of the connection between this 'group' and either the Bebehupa or the Arehu. The latter also use simboro as an erahu, in addition to their own topu (fig?)-tree emblem.

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1 See Williams 1925; 1930:Ch.8.

2 Confirmed by Williams' data collected in 1923 (W.83). Even then not all members of the clan shared a common erahu (see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:16; Williams, ibid.).

3 Referred to by Williams as hai or hae at Wasida (1925:408; W.12 ff., passim); kerahu and keratu are the usual variants in other dialects.

621 with some of their co-residents; nevertheless, common residence
614 implies some community of interest and a degree of group solidarity
that is reinforced by Administration and mission policies which
recognise villages rather than descent groups as functional
[431] entities.[1] Marriages between members of the different clan
[476] branches within the village reinforce this solidarity, which is
expressed in such ways as daily food gifts, co-operation in certain
tasks, and joint ceremonial activities.

(b) Social organisation[2]

614 (i) Descent. Every Orokaiva is recruited by birth into the
clan of his or her father. All members of a clan claim, but cannot
[611] necessarily trace, common descent from a usually eponymous ancestor.
Each clan is subdivided into named sub-groups or lineages which
[613] trace their origin to a named ancestor.[3] A lineage comprises, on
average, three households. Usually several clans are represented
in a single village, members of a single clan (clan branches) being
scattered among a number of neighbouring villages. Lineages are
much more localised in character, frequently being confined to a
single village and tending to occupy one section of it.

[622] (ii) Leadership. The Orokaiva social system incorporates no
central authority or hereditary leadership. Instead, it is
[554] characterised by 'big men' (embo dombo) and an ascendency of
elders who have proved themselves equal to the task. Such men
command the respect of the community - based upon observed qualities
of generosity, diligence, wealth, ability to make wise decisions and
skill in arranging ceremonial activities - but it confers no sanc-
tions.

591 (iii) Residence. Post-marital residence is ideally patrivirilocal,
but in practice people have a wide choice between the village of
[592] patrilateral or matrilateral kin or of affines, and it may be
[594] changed at any time. The composition of individual households
within the village likewise varies, although the basis is generally
[614] the nuclear family. The distribution of clan branches through a
[166] number of villages is closely related to access to the group's
land; hence initial motivation for a long-term change in residence

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[1] Cf. comments by Belshaw (1964:277) on villages and descent groups vis-à-vis government policy in Fiji.

[2] For a fuller account see Rimoldi 1966:29-75.

[3] Genealogical depth is slight, descent rarely being traced to an ancestor more remote than the grandfathers of the oldest men.

may be influenced by proximity to a new area of land it is intended to bring into cultivation.[1]

(iv) Rights to land. The Orokaiva social system is characterised by flexibility in arrangements for group membership and for transmission of rights to land (e.g. through adoption). Inheritance is usually patrilineal[2] and various land rights may be distributed at a number of levels of social segmentation - the clan branch, lineage and individual - the relative significance of each varying with locality and, apparently, population density.[3] Further, more than one descent group may have rights in a single piece of land. In many instances the clan branch functions essentially as a reference group, all land being associated with it. However, it may function as a primary right-holding group for those hunting areas distinct from current garden land, typically the grasslands.[4] Priority rights to garden land are normally vested in the lineage; nevertheless, all such land is ultimately identifiable with individuals who may distribute land (and property) prior to their death not only to their immediate family but also to more distant kin.[5]

This markedly influences the pattern of both exploitation of land and transmission of rights. In the low density areas a number of descent groups often agree to exploit simultaneously an area

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[1] Rimoldi (1966:68) found no evidence of the need for new land as a motive for movement. He considers the major motives to be fear of sorcery, disputes between kin and life-crises. It is nevertheless conceivable that the fear or sorcery or disputes might arise from poor yields from over-cropped garden land, which would require a move in any case.

[2] Women are known to hold land only as a form of trust for their children (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:75).

[3] We do not know whether any causal relationship exists between these two factors. However, the existence in low density areas of primary forest surplus to current garden needs, plus extensive grassland and mountain areas utilised largely in hunting only, might well account for the responsibility for such land being vested in the larger social group, the clan branch. This group's significance has been eroded in the high density areas, where there is little or no land surplus to present gardening needs.

[4] In the high density areas hunting is frequently confined to garden land and individuals can commonly hunt over land belonging to anyone in the village.

[5] For example, sisters' sons (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:24).

241 423 [613] [425] [578] that is then cultivated contiguously,[1] while in the high density areas there is a tendency towards a more individual pattern of exploitation.[2] Short-term rights to land for the non-lineage members are frequently granted (on a reciprocal basis), sometimes to facilitate contiguous cultivation or to compensate for inadequate landholdings. This pattern is promoted by the high degree of fragmentation of individual holdings. Further to this, Rimoldi (1966:62, 95) observes that plots are often permanently transferred outside the direct patrilineal line, and this applies equally to land under both cash and subsistence crops. In the Inonda area, however, Crocombe and Hogbin (1963:73-5) observe that there is considerable reluctance to plant, or make land available for planting cash crops if the land has not been acquired patrilineally, for fear of subsequent disputes. Thus the tenurial situation may be of considerable significance in the development of cash cropping.

245 428 Traditional tree crops are not planted in stands or groups like cash crop trees, but are widely scattered and may equally well be planted on patrimonial land or on land of affines or matrilateral kin. Inheritance of rights to trees usually does not involve rights to the land on which they stand. However, owing to their wide spacing, their presence rarely seriously affects other cultivation of the land.

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[1] The decision-making process has not been investigated but it appears that there is no institutionalised position relating to land matters. An exception is provided by the Yega of the Gona census division who recognise a 'land custodian' (see Dakeyne 1965:55).

[2] [311] [136] [417] It is possible that this is an expression of the fact that sufficiently large areas of suitable secondary forest are not available at any one time to permit contiguous cultivation. Two other factors are that in low density areas wild pigs and other animals necessitate the fencing of gardens, a task which is easier for contiguous groups than for individuals, and that in forest much wider fringe clearing is necessary than in low second growth. The volume of fringe clearing per garden is much reduced if gardens are contiguous.

accessible by road, enable more efficient agriculture extension services, facilitate pest and disease control, and permit a centrally located cocoa fermentary.

To ensure competent local supervision of the establishment of the cocoa plantings, the Agriculture Department Extension Service built a village on the north bank of Ononda Creek. Here trainee agricultural field-workers lived while they worked with the Yega advising and assisting them in the unfamiliar tasks of laying out their blocks, 'lining' the shade trees and ensuring correct spacing of the cocoa trees. The D.A.O. entrusted a local Yega man (Napoleon Aiga of Sambori clan) with the supervision of this work. Although he is not a trained agricultural worker (he was a clerk in the agriculture office at Ioma when selected for the job), Napoleon is a man of great drive and ability; he had the confidence of the Yega and was able to direct and control the trainees who worked with the villagers in the early stages of the scheme.

Beginning in May 1960, an area approximately 7 by 120 chains was rapidly cleared by communal labour with most of the men of all Yega clans taking part. Provision was made for a road down the centre of the cleared area; 48 blocks were marked off, 24 on each side of the central road on 5-chain frontages. The number of blocks was based on the number of men who originally showed interest in participating in the project, plus two special blocks: one was allocated to the mission and one beside the Gona-Popondetta road was reserved as the site for a future fermentary. The remaining 46 blocks were allocated by ballot to participants in the work. The 46 men to whom blocks were allocated represented almost all Yega lineages; those lineages not represented were ones in which only old people remained in the villages, the young men having left home to work in paid employment elsewhere. After the ballot, one week was allowed for voluntary exchanges before a firm list of blockholders was drawn up. This firm list was, however, still subject to alteration within the framework of the traditional Yega land tenure system. Any cultivator considered to be unsatisfactory could be disciplined by the land custodian; if a blocholder failed repeatedly to comply with the standards expected he could be dispossessed, and his block reallocated to another cultivator. One such reallocation did, in fact, take place late in 1960.[1]

[1] The blockholder ignored three warnings from Nixon about his laziness. As a result he was dispossessed and his block allocated to another cultivator; compensation of $3 for work done already was paid by the new blockholder.

Work patterns

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Traditionally among the Yega members of one lineage worked together to clear the forest in preparation for planting food gardens. The cleared patch was subdivided among those who helped with the work. Planting and caring for the growing crop was the responsibility of the individual and his family. This traditional pattern was modified when clearing rain forest for the Yega Scheme when the able-bodied men of all lineages worked together. The cleared blocks were then allocated by ballot and the individual concerned was responsible for planting shade trees, laying out a seed bed, planting out the young cocoa trees, 'lifting' shade as the trees increased in size, and keeping down the weed growth. In most instances, relatives who helped the blockholder with these tasks were compensated. For example, the cocoa pickings on 29 July (see Table 1) by Aubrey and John Livingstone were made from the same blocks as those by Ethelbert and Livingstone on 1 July. Aubrey is a member of the same lineage as Ethelbert and John Livingstone is a son of Livingstone. As part payment for work done previously on the blocks these two men were permitted by the blockholders to harvest one month's cocoa production. Other relatives who had helped with the work would be given a similar privilege.

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Late in 1962 and early in 1963 many Yega moved their homes to the new villages of Ononda and Binjapada (see Table 5) [A], the reason given in every case being to live closer to their cash-crop areas. In January 1963, however, the move had not resulted in a significant increase in the amount of time spent on the cocoa blocks.[1] This was because of the time spent building their new houses. Only one man out of 12 spent any time working on his cocoa block during the period 14-28 January. The remainder divided their time about equally between building and work in their food gardens, which were scattered between the coast and the new cocoa blocks.

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Several attempts were made to introduce communal labour into the production of cocoa. The first was organized by a blockholder, Wilfred Upena, early in 1963. He and 17 others belonging to five different Yega clans agreed to do a day's communal work clearing rain forest to extend each man's block in turn. As the originator of the scheme, Wilfred's turn was first and an acre of rain forest was cleared on his block on the first day. But on my return a year later no further communal work had been done by the group.

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[1] An unsupervised record of daily work was kept by a man living at Ononda from 14.1.63 to 28.1.63, but it was of only limited value.

A, [For Table 5, see Category 166, p.43--Analyst]

245 423 All plantings were made on the south side of Ononda Creek in the area which the Yega claimed because it was their Bowori (extinct) clan land but which the Ahora also claimed by right of conquest. The Yega decided to reinforce their claim by occupying at least a portion of the disputed territory (Fig.7).

241 245 423 [614] [613] A large area of rain forest was cleared for food gardens in addition to the cocoa blocks planted. Permission to clear was in all instances given by the land controller, Nixon Kairembora. Swiddens were cleared by members of Sambori (1), Jambapa (5), Konambo (1), Eupu (1) and Seseko (3) clans. Cultivation rights to the land on which these swiddens were made would then be vested in the lineages to which the individual gardeners belonged.

166 361 245 241 One instance of change of residence as a result of these new clearings was noted. Three Jambapa brothers built their homes on Jamberoda grassland near which they had cleared a swidden and planted food crops and cocoa (about half a mile south of Ononda village and well into disputed Yega/Ahora territory). These houses were the furthest extension of the ribbon pattern of settlement developing along the Gona-Popondetta road; this hamlet typified the Yega trend away from large nucleated settlement to a farmstead pattern in which homes were dispersed on or near the main garden and cash crop areas.

245 423 In March 1964 a group of 23 Yega men, only one of whom had been allocated a cocoa block at Ononda, decided to clear another large tract of rain forest which would then be divided equally among the participants in the scheme. The site chosen for this new block-type development was Berojou near the south-west Yega/Beuru boundary. This boundary had been declared by the Land Titles Commissioner, surveyed, and marked by cement boundary posts. Though final siting arrangements for the individual blocks had not been completed it was expected that blocks would be approximately 10 chains frontage by 20 chains depth (frontages double those of the Ononda blocks).

245 423 614 602 The Berojou scheme differs in two major respects from the earlier Yega schemes at Ononda. Firstly it was sited on land over which certain clans, Jambapa and Kurou, had recognized rights of allocation and secondly all members of the group concerned in the development were members of these two clans or had close affinal ties with them. Men related to Jambapa were allocated blocks on Jambapa land while men related to Kurou were allocated blocks on Kurou land. These relationships illustrate the way in which rain forest was traditionally cleared by the Yega. A close affinal tie was usually essential before a person could be invited to join another group and clear rain forest belonging to another clan.[1]

[1] Ten men in this group planted the land of other clans. In six cases their mothers were members of the clans on whose land they

583 These people were expected to return a feast of similar size for
[85] the groom, in contrast to the bride-wealth for which no return payment is expected.

VII

583 The economic consequences of the payment were greatest in four
613 households - those of the groom and his parallel cousin, both of Jegotumo lineage, who contributed most; and those of the bride's father and brother, both of Joremba'embo lineage, who received most. Other households' contributions to, and shares of, the payment were minor by comparison. Members of a lineage did not act as a unit for the purpose of the marriage, nor was each member expected to contribute to, or share equally in, the payment, or even to contribute in proportion to his wealth.

583 This was not an ideal situation in which to investigate the
614 extent to which the Andiriha clan functions as a unit, because the marriage was within the clan. However, it was by no means a clan affair. On the one hand, Andiriha households from Hanakiro, a village distant from Inonda, took no part, and on the other, heads of households which participated in the exchange were drawn from about 20 different clans. Households from Andiriha lineages other than those of the bride and groom did not contribute significantly more to, or receive significantly larger shares of, the payment than households of other clans.

583 The range of genealogical connections between the groom and
602 heads of contributing households was extremely diverse and there was a similarly wide range of relationships in the recipient group. It is therefore difficult to determine with accuracy the extent to which genealogical relationships influence obligations between households and also the extent to which a particular type of genealogical relationship implies a particular degree of obligation. Adoptive relationships and distance between households appear to modify the extent to which genealogical relationships entail obligations.

583 Co-residence in a village may also have some influence. Some
621 people, though not all, from each of Kakendetta, Hohota I, Hohota II and Urio villages contributed to the payment, but nobody from these villages received a share. On the other hand, no member of Mosou, Ajoro, Sewa or Jegerata - villages which received parts of the payment - made a contribution. Inonda was the only village in which there were both contributors and recipients. This may indicate that membership of a particular village was a factor determining the group with which a household was aligned and may

tor) is suffixed by the term 'undi (the descendants of a particular ancestor) or haha (which is sometimes shortened to ha).(1) In conversation the Orokaiva often refer to the jawo (name) and speak of members of the one clan as embo jawo vahai (people of the same name). Alternatively, one's clan is frequently referred to as one's orope (men's house, as each clan group within a village occupied a separate men's house). More commonly, however, people used the English word 'clan' even when speaking in the vernacular.

Clans are usually dispersed and in the case of the Andiriha separate sub-clans are to be found in at least five villages. We use the term 'sub-clan' to refer to a local branch of a clan (i.e. within a particular village or a cluster of neighbouring hamlets). Orokaiva people use the terms quoted in the last paragraph for sub-clan as well as for clan, and distinguish sub-clans when necessary by adding the name of the village in which they are located. Clans and sub-clans are not exogamous but people express a clear preference for marriage outside the clan.

A sub-clan is usually divided into a number of lineages each of which has a name and an erahu which is distinct from that of the clan as a whole.(2) To determine a man's lineage it is usual to ask the name of his haije (the ancestor or ancestral name from whom he traces). Several persons were unable to trace their precise relationship to other members of the same lineage. Genealogies are short and no person could name any ancestor earlier than those who settled in Sambogo about fifty years ago; and only a few of those could be named. The lineage was said to be strictly exogamous but an instance of marriage within a lineage was noted. Some lineages are further

(1) These terms refer to descent groups as a whole. An individual male uses the suffix mo and a female jo. Thus a man of Jego'undi clan is referred to as Jegopa and a woman as Jegoja.

(2) The plant emblems of the lineages are as follows: Jovumbo'embo lineage, paiuvo emblem; Oiwa'undi lineage, para emblem; Darafa'embo lineage, hovuvo emblem; Jegotumo lineage, para emblem; Jego'undi lineage, dinoma emblem. These emblems are all plants, whereas that of the clan as a whole is a particular knot, and any leaf, vine or grass may be used to form it.

613 divided into sub-lineages.

614 There is no unitary leadership of a dispersed clan. The highest level of unitary leadership is usually that of the sub-clan or of linked co-resident sub-clans (as at Inonda), though we have heard of instances elsewhere in the Orokaiva area of leaders of senior sub-clans having some authority in respect of junior (i.e. more recently formed) branches of the same clan which are located in separate villages in the vicinity. The [622] leader of a sub-clan is referred to as the embo kiti or embo kiti jigari (first-born man or first-born leader), and of a village as the embo dombo (big man). The embo dombo of a village seems always to be embo kiti of his own sub-clan within it. These are descriptions of particular statuses and are not formal rank titles.

614 622 Leadership of the Andiriha sub-clan was shared between three individuals in a delicate balance. They were also in practice the leaders of the village as a whole for the Jego'undi are in a subordinate position. The first of the leaders was the eldest surviving son (by adoption) of the previous sub-clan leader. He does not now live in the village, but about two miles away on the Girua resettlement scheme. He pays frequent visits to the village and exercises considerable influence, particularly in land matters. He speaks of himself as the embo dombo of the village and embo kiti of his sub-clan. The second was a man descended from the Hohota branch of the Andiriha clan (which claims exclusive rights to a tract of land there, whereas the Inonda section of the clan does not claim exclusive rights to its land). He was a forthright, assertive man and was recognized as sub-clan leader for some years during the absence of the first man mentioned. He lived in the village and still claimed to be embo dombo and embo kiti (until his death during our stay) on the ground that the former leader had "left the village". The third leading citizen is the eldest surviving child of the first-born son of a former sub-clan leader (now deceased). He is at present the elected councillor for Inonda and neighbouring villages in the Higaturu Local Government Council. Being a young man he does not claim to be leader of the sub-clan but generally defers to his elders, though he often acts as their spokesman.

614 Other sub-clan rights include those to burial grounds
423 and tracks. Once land is set aside and used as a burial ground
425 it remains vested in the descent group even after it is no longer
764 used for burial. Burial grounds may, however, be a post-
[117] contact innovation, for in the pre-contact era the dead were sometimes buried under the houses in which they had lived. In the case of tracks, however, the descent group which holds the surrounding land retains reversionary rights and in the event of the tracks being no longer used by the community they revert to the relevent descent group. There are two burial grounds at present in use in Inonda - one for Christians and the other for pagans. There are also old disused burial grounds adjacent to the sites of previous villages.

613 The lineage: The Andiriha sub-clan of Inonda is
423 divided into four lineages but the Jego'undi sub-clan consists of
425 a single lineage. After rights to the Inonda lands had been acquired from the Tandai'undi it was decided that the mountainous hunting lands would be held in common by the Inonda people, but the garden land, the grassland and at least some of the foothills were divided among the lineages. Some informants claim this was done almost immediately by the head of the joint sub-clans, but it seems unlikely that all the lands were divided at this time. All agree that some land was allocated at the time of the transfer, but some maintain that not all of it was and that identification with particular lineages in many cases followed later clearing.

While most lands are said to have remained with the lineage which originally cleared them, some have changed hands. For example, when the Andiriha people first came to settle in Inonda they obtained their seeds and planting shoots from the Jegotumo (an Andiriha lineage - not to be confused with Jego'undi sub-clan) which was then living in Hohota. The Jegotumo also assisted by providing one of the brides and some of the valuables for the payment which was made to the Tandai'undi, and thus acquired a right to the Inonda lands although they did not actually exert their rights at the time. Some years afterwards, however, when they felt that they were being subjected to sorcery in Hohota, they came over to live in Inonda and were granted rights to a

piece of land named Ombarahambo (which had previously been held by the leading Joremba'embo lineage). Some of them later returned to Hohota, while others remained in Inonda.(1) Later again, one of the original lineages (Paru) died out and its lands have been absorbed by the remaining lineages.

The Jego'undi sub-clan was allotted land at Kakitasuru and Ajerita. In later years a Jego'undi man cleared a piece of virgin bushland at Eumo and it is consequently regarded as their prerogative to plant that portion.

The following table showing the lands of each lineage in Inonda was compiled from incidental data and may well contain minor discrepancies. It will be noted that the Joremba'embo lineage is divided into two sub-lineages. A sketch map of the land is shown on page 105.A

(1) The Jegotumo are now divided into two distinct sub-lineages, one in Inonda and the other in Hohota. While they function as a single lineage for certain social purposes, the Hohota sub-lineage does not exercise any land rights in Inonda. The Inonda sub-lineage, on the other hand, continues to use some trees and gardening land in Hohota.

A [See Category 102, p. 105--Analyst]

Lineage	Lands in Inonda	
Jorumba'embo: This lineage is not represented in other villages. It is to this lineage that the sub-clan leaders have belonged since the village was established. This lineage is subdivided into two sub-lineages.	Kofuretta	(First sub-lineage)
	Jombata	(" ") Originally belonged to Paru lineage (now extinct)
	Topchambo	(First sub-lineage)
	Pujota	(" ")
	Jaagi	(" ")
	Kendahambo	(" ")
	Hazahambo	(" ")
	Inonda	(" ")
	Kumbara	(" ")
	Ombarahambo	(" ")
	Peu	(" ")
	Enmo	(" ") Originally belonged to Paru lineage
	Jegarutapema	(Second sub-lineage)
	Jawaha	(" ")
	Aruruta	(" ")
	Hafu	(" ")
	Hahemo) Mimina)	Given direct to the councillor by his mother's father, a Tandai'undi man.
Oiva'undi: Another branch of this lineage lives at Jegarata.	Enmo Ajerita Homa Peu	
Darafa'embo: Other branches of this lineage live at Hamakiro and Hohota.	Hondetta Soruta) Jegarutapema) Hafu) Ombarahambo)	Originally held by a Jorumba'embo man whose wife was from Darafa'embo lineage. Rights then passed from a son who had no issue to an adopted son in Darafa'embo.
Jegotumo: Another branch of this lineage lives in Kahendetta. The Inonda branch fled from Asumba direct to Hohota where they obtained (and still hold) land by conquest from the Ururu people.	Ombarahambo Homa Kakitasuru Inota	
Jego'undi sub-clan (comprises only one lineage)	Wutafota) Jonita) Embasari) Topchambo)	Originally held by Paru lineage of Andiriha sub-clan.
	Kakitasuru Ajerita Enmo	
	Seseharuta	Given by mother's brother.

592 The household: This usually functions as a single unit of food production and consumption. In the case of a polygamous household, however, each wife plants and cooks separately, and in extended families which accommodate one or more unmarried adults these usually have individual food gardens though their produce is pooled and cooked for the whole household.

592 Land rights exercised by the household as a unit are
423 restricted to usufructuary rights for the production of short-term food crops. This situation is analysed in more detail in the following section.

423 The individual: The land rights of individuals are
613 predominantly a function of their status in relation to particular
614 sub-clans and lineages. From data collected in Inonda we can recognize four distinct statuses:

(1) Primary membership: This is the status of persons who were born or adopted into the descent group and who are domiciled within it. Of the eleven adult males in Inonda, nine were primary members of either the Andiriha or Jego'undi sub-clans. A marginal case not included above is that of the ex-leader of the Inonda village who recently shifted to take over a farm about two miles away on the Girua resettlement scheme. He visits the village frequently and is still treated for most purposes as a primary member.

(2) Contingent membership: This is the status of persons who have been primary members, but have subsequently left the village (either at marriage or otherwise) to live elsewhere. They do not normally lose all their rights by doing so, though the nature of their rights changes. A contingent member, it seems, can generally regain primary membership by returning to reside in the sub-clan (as frequently happens with widows, returning migrant workers etc.). We are aware of eight contingent members of the Inonda sub-clans. Four of them are women who are married to men in other villages. Of the four men, one is away at work in Port Moresby, one is living in his mother's village and will probably remain there, one lives on the land of his deceased sister's husband in another village and the fourth lives in the village of his mother's new

husband and uses the latter's land.

(3) Secondary membership: This status is held by the children of contingent members of a descent group. Most people can claim secondary membership of their mother's father's lineage and clan. The degree to which the rights associated with secondary membership are in fact exercised appears to depend on the distance from the mother's village and the amount of contact with her family.(1) Although no attempt was made to compile an exhaustive list of secondary members of Inonda sub-clans, incidental information was collected on eight such persons. The children of secondary members of a descent group may be regarded as distant secondary members but, although in exceptional circumstances a distant secondary member may exert land rights in that group this is in fact a rare occurrence.

(4) Permissive membership: This is the status of those who reside in a sub-clan or lineage but do not belong to it by birth or adoption. They are admitted under particular circumstances and generally only for such time as they observe the conditions appropriate to that admission. Of the eleven adults in the village who have only permissive status with the Inonda clans, eight are wives of Inonda men, one lives with his mother who is now married to an Inonda man and the remaining two are a married couple who have two daughters married to Inonda men.

In summary, primary members are linked to the descent group by both descent and residence, contingent members by descent and previous residence, secondary members by descent only and permissive members by residence only.(2) There are of course marginal or special cases in each category, but each person in Inonda was found to fall into one, two or

(1) Most instances cited related to the taking of produce from the land of the mother's father or brother.

(2) The sub-clan membership status of adults in Inonda was as follows: household heads, 7 primary and 1 permissive members; wives, 9 permissive members; others, 3 primary (2 men, 1 woman) and 2 contingent female members (the latter visiting).

423 three categories in relation to particular clans, i.e. a man
613 may be a primary member of an Inonda sub-clan and a secondary
614 member of his mother's clan; or a married woman may be a contingent member of her father's clan, a secondary member of her mother's clan and a permissive member of her husband's
423 clan. Each category may be sub-divided according to sex, for
562 the rights of males in each category are in some respects different from those of females. Hunting rights, for example, are never exercised by women though occasionally a husband hunts on the land of his wife's sub-clan. Likewise food gardens are seldom planted by a married woman on land in which her lineage has proprietary rights; and men quite often harvest tree crops from their mothers' lands, though women seldom do so.

614 The people of the Andiriha and Jego'undi sub-clans
613 of Inonda recognize all other members of their respective clans,
423 wherever they reside, as kinsmen. Although distant kinsmen visit for feasts and ceremonial occasions, only those persons who can trace descent from the original Inonda settlers have any proprietary rights in the Inonda lands. It is said that any clansman who was evicted from another village would be given asylum here and provided with whatever land he needed for sustenance, but this has never occurred in fact, with the exception of the Jegotumo who came over from Hohota, though in that case they had contributed a bride, pigs and valuables to the exchange at the time of acquisition of the Inonda lands.

Individuals normally acquire their land rights only as a function of their status with respect to particular descent groups but such rights are acquired from an individual within the descent group rather than from the descent group as a whole. As stability of residence strengthens the rights of particular descent groups so also does it lead to the clearer definition of the rights of individuals.

614 The status of adoptees varies according to in-
613 dividual circumstances as the following examples show. About
423 fifty years ago the Andiriha (who were then living at Sambogo)
591 attacked a village of a neighbouring but unrelated Managalas tribe. Some of the inhabitants were killed and others fled. Two small boys who were captured were adopted by an Andiriha

man and both are now aged residents of Inonda. Having no other source of land rights they became accepted as primary (but perhaps less privileged) members of their adoptive father's lineage and sub-clan and were given rights to some of his land. These are still held. One of them married an Inonda woman and his children have acquired some rights from their father and some from their mother. The other man married a woman from the neighbouring Urio village. He has no children and lives with his only adopted daughter's family. He is old and senile and cannot leave the house. When all the lands of the village had been covered by our survey, none had been mentioned as belonging to him. When the matter was queried it was explained that technically he had rights in the lands of his lineage of adoption, but that as an aged dependant without issue, these rights would lapse on his death. In practice they had already lapsed.

Two illegitimate children have been adopted by the father of their respective mothers (who were sisters). They will acquire land rights from him in the same way as if they were his own children. (His only born son is at present teaching in New Britain). In one case, however, the mother's present husband has also offered to make land available to the boy when he grows up. In the early stages at least he would acquire only permissive rights to this land.

In the event of the death of a local man who has young children, the children will need adoption in so far as foster care is concerned, but not necessarily in so far as land rights are concerned. A current example is that of the death of the only resident adult member of the Oiwa'undi lineage. A man of Jegotumo lineage took in the deceased's wife and "adopted" his children, but it is understood that they will inherit their land rights from their father, though in the event of need they could get land from their adoptive father. The adoptive father at present acts as 'trustee' for their lands.

A marginal case is that of a young unmarried man of a distant tribe whose mother recently remarried to an Inonda widower who has no children. The young man lives and plants with the couple. His mother's new husband speaks of him as his adopted son and says that if he remains in the village he will

inherit rights to some of his adoptive father's land, but most of the land will pass to the adoptive father's brother's children. If the adoptee does not remain in the village he will acquire no rights. The other children of the new wife remained in their home village with their father's kin. They will acquire no rights in Inonda.

In fact the fathers of over half of the Inonda men seem to have died before the children reached maturity. Most men, therefore, have been in an adoptive relationship, though in varying degrees, and one man had three adoptive fathers in succession. If land is readily available adoptees most frequently inherit from their own fathers, but if this is not convenient, rights can be acquired from the adoptive father.

There is usually no ceremony to mark adoption but it is of interest to note that the status of adoptees (and others whose status within a descent group is vague or marginal) is to some extent fixed by the government census. This is no doubt unintentional on the part of the census-takers, but we have frequently heard people say that a certain person should get his rights from a particular man because the patrol officer recorded them together in the village book; or in a particular village because his name appears in the register of that village.

Rights in relation to categories of land

House-sites: The various house-sites in Inonda were allotted by informal discussion at the time the village was set up. At first the Andiriha built their houses on the northern side and the Jego'undi on the southern side of the village square but the Andiriha have subsequently expanded to the western and southern sides. The eastern side is occupied by the government rest house. Where two brothers live in separate households, their houses are adjacent, as are those of fathers and sons. House-sites of members of the same lineage are contiguous except in the case of a recently married man who had to build on another site within the village because the area occupied by his lineage was full.

There do not seem to be any specific boundaries between houses, and rights to any particular house-site are said to

423 be available to any villager if another abandons them and does
961 not intend to rebuild on that site. The people can, nevertheless,
[425] point out the sites of the houses of particular individuals in former villages and in some cases these are marked by coconut or other trees. It appears likely that the ideal Orokaiva pattern was to occupy a series of village sites in turn (following the rotation of garden sites) but the Inonda people have not been settled long enough in one area for the rotation to become established. The people today claim that individuals and lineages retain rights in economic trees growing on former village sites but that rights to the house-sites themselves have lapsed.

423 Garden land: There is considerable flexibility in the
241 relationship between the planting of food gardens and the holding
613 of rights to land. Of the 55 gardens (covering 27.1 acres)
614 which were surveyed, only 20 (covering 9.8 acres) have been planted on land held by the lineage of which the planter is a primary member. Twenty-eight gardens have been planted on land in which the planter belongs to a different lineage within the same sub-clan or village. Three gardens have been planted on land held by another lineage of the same clan but in a neighbouring village, and the remaining four have been planted by a man who has no hereditary rights in Inonda lands but whose daughters have married into the village, one into the leading lineage. Details are shown in Table 3. Permission to plant is granted on a reciprocal basis and where the planter does not belong to the rightholding lineage, it is tacitly understood that when the main block of gardens moves to his lineage's land, he will permit other members of the sub-clan or village to plant gardens there if they wish.

Two of the five gardens which have been planted on land outside the Inonda limits are on the land of the Andiriha sub-clan in Hohota village. The planter of both was a born member of an Andiriha lineage which is represented in both Hohota and Inonda. He shifted to Inonda many years ago and joined the Inonda branch of his lineage. It appears that the gardens have been made in order to maintain or emphasize his claims to the land. His adopted son, who belongs to a different lineage, has also cleared a patch of second growth in order to make a food garden on this land. Two other gardens (one a feast garden) have been planted on Andiriha land at Hohota by the man who has

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

Table 3

Rights to food garden land

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Nature of planter's right in his garden land	No. of gardens	Area of gardens (acres)
1. Planter is a primary member of the rightholding lineage	20	9.8
2. Member of a different lineage but within the same sub-clan	18	8.3
3. Member of a different lineage and sub-clan within the same village	10	3.7
4. Member of a different lineage but within the same clan (though in another village - Hohota)	3	1.6
5. Permissive rights only (belongs to a clan which is not represented here, but lives in Inonda village)	2	1.1
6. Permissive rights only (as for 5, but gardens located in another village - Hohota)	2	2.6
Total	55	27.1

only permissive rights at Inonda or any nearby place. He has been living at Inonda for some years on a temporary basis and is dependent for gardening land on his relatives by marriage at Inonda. He has also been loaned two pieces of gardening land at Hohota, where he used to conduct a church school, and is obliged to accept whatever land is made available to him. One of his gardens in Hohota is planted on land held by his mother's sister's husband's brother's son, and the other on the land of a senior deacon of the Hohota church.

Two other gardens with recognizable boundaries have been made amongst the main block of gardens. One was made in 1960 by an Inonda man who has since died, and the other by a man of the Jegotumo lineage (of the Andiriha clan) who was born in Inonda but now lives in Hohota village. The sub-lineage to which he belongs has rights to at least two areas of Inonda land. It was presumably to affirm his rights that he made a garden on one of these lands, for he does most of his gardening in Hohota, where his lineage has ample land. Inonda folk say that his rights in the Inonda land will 'live' while he or his son work the land and 'visit' the village (i.e. take part in appropriate village activities such as church celebrations, taro festivals, weddings and funerals). If he did not work the land, they say, then his sons (who are still small children) would not be entitled to make use of it.

- Informants claimed that a man in need has the right to make gardens on the land of the mother's brother though this is exercised only if it is within walking distance of the planter's village. The only instance noted was that of a man who began preparing a new garden on his mother's brother's land at Urio just after our survey was completed.

Hunting and foraging rights: Any primary member of the Andiriha and Jego'undi sub-clans in Inonda can hunt or forage on any portion of the Inonda land which is covered with virgin bush, kunai grass, or second growth. Likewise any villager may take such timber or firewood as he needs from the virgin bush, and although it is said that one may also take these

423 permission, custom does not permit of permission being withheld
226 unless the circumstances are exceptional. On two occasions
614 during our stay the river was fished by men married to Andiriha women, and once by a contingent member of the Andiriha sub-clan who lives at Hohota. No payment is made for this privilege, not is any part of the catch given to the host village.

423 On rare occasions Andiriha people from distant
226 villages have been given the right to fish in the Girua river to
628 obtain food to garnish a forthcoming feast. The procedure is similar to that outlined for hunting under the same circumstances. Adjacent to the Inonda land on the north side of the Girua river is a government resettlement scheme. The settlers, most of whom are strangers to the area, sometimes fish in the river after obtaining permission from the Inonda elders. No direct payment is made but there are indications of other forms of reciprocity between the settlers and the village.

226 Rights to that part of the Sambogo river which flows
423 through Inonda are not held jointly by the sub-clans. There are
614 five divisions in the river, each of which is held by one or other
613 of the lineages. One particular pool is held by an individual,
[425] the sole surviving child of the man who is said to have acquired rights to it by clearing the adjacent virgin bush and gardening there. Since the Paru lineage died out the rights to their part of the river have been taken over by the Joremba'embo. Men often fish alone, but frequently take other villagers (not
[621] necessarily of the same lineage) to fish with them. When a fish drive is held during the dry season all the villagers fish together.

The rights of secondary and contingent members in the Sambogo river are held only in relation to that particular part of it which is associated with the lineage to which they trace their relationship. One permissive member of the Andiriha sub-clan is allowed to fish in either of the places where his daughters' husbands have rights. Small groups of women sometimes fish in places where their husbands' lineages hold rights.

Alienated land

432 The only alienated land in the Inonda area is a mission lease of five acres close to the village. It was purchased by the government for the sum of £5 and leased to the Anglican Mission for a school site.(1) The purchase money was paid to the then head of the Andiriha sub-clan but it is said that he received it in his capacity as leader of the lineage which had occupied this land (or as successor to the head of the extinct Paru lineage). The money was not shared. The main Popondetta-Oro Bay Road runs through Inonda, but the actual purchase of the land by the Crown has not yet been completed.

Transmission of land rights

425 Examples have been given of the transfer of land rights between clans (pages 14-16, 21-23) and of the succession to rights of a lineage which died out (page 26). Within the lineage the ideal pattern of inheritance of land rights by individuals 428 is patrilineal. 613 The sons often hold rights jointly, though in some instances the lands have been divided between sons. As the number of resident adult males in any lineage does not seem to have exceeded three either in the present or the remembered past, joint rightholding has not occasioned undue difficulty. Although it is customary for the rightholder who is senior by birth to act as spokesman for the rightholding group, he does not appear to hold any superior rights to his co-parceners. While the patrilineal pattern predominates it is modified by factors of residence, family size, adoption, availability of land, and matrilateral and affinal connections.

The people traced the inheritance of proprietary rights to twenty-two out of thirty-seven blocks of land by direct patrilineal descent from five initial rightholders. It is appreciated that deviant relationships (adoptions, illegitimacies, refugees, etc.) are often forgotten, particularly in earlier generations, and memory assimilates the realities to the ideal pattern. It is therefore possible that inheritance was not so direct in fact.

(1) It is not at present in use as the school was shifted several years ago to Hohota.

423 necessary for the normal growth of the tree or trees concerned.

[245] In contrast to the random pattern of planting of traditional tree crops, coffee and cocoa must be planted contiguously and in relatively large numbers. It is not normally feasible for the land to be used for any other purpose at the same time, and it is therefore desirable that the planter have effective control of the land. Clear identification of rights is particularly necessary because of the value of the crop. It may also be desirable in giving the individual a degree of freedom from his descent group, for as more facilities are provided by larger institutions (local and central government agencies, missions etc.) the need for co-ordinated action by the descent group diminishes and it may even function more to limit the aspirations of members than to supply their needs.

[241] [613] There would not seem to be any advantage in defining or registering lineage boundaries, or the food gardening areas of individuals. People frequently plant food crops on the land of other lineages and this does not seem to cause any acute problems. It is a matter of convenience, done at the invitation of the rightholding lineage, and it results in a reduction of bush 425 clearing and pig-fencing. Furthermore, there are accepted processes of transfer of proprietary rights from one lineage to another and we recorded several such instances. The transfer is seldom completed in a single transaction, but rather takes place over time, and the nature of the rights transferred is modified by occupation and other circumstances. Even if short-term cash crops (such as peanuts or rice) were introduced, it is unlikely that major tenure problems would result unless cropping were undertaken on a large scale.

Aspects of work organization which inhibit productivity

461 There is at present a considerable surplus of working time available over and above that required for subsistence and cash cropping. Table 11 (page 63) shows that the average time spent per week on subsistence activities and cash cropping was 14.7 hours for men and 16.0 hours for women. This suggests that E.K. Fisk's comments to the effect that the unexploited labour supply of South-East Asia is one of its major sources of productivity may equally apply here.(1)

(1) Fisk, 1961:778.

14: Crocombe & Hogbin E-5 (no date) 1963 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Inonda

102
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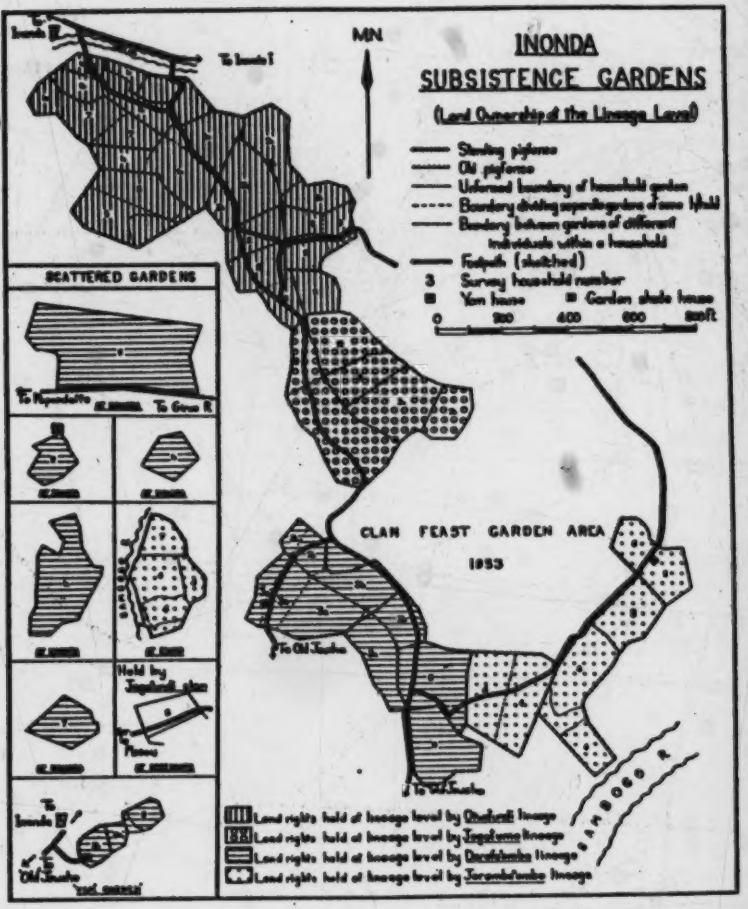
● 613


INONDA
SUBSISTENCE GARDENS
(Land Ownership at the Lineage Level)
MN
Standing pipeline
Old pipeline
Unformed boundary of household garden
Boundary dividing separate gardens of same individuals within a household
Boundary between gardens of different individuals within a household
Footpath (abolished)
3 Survey household number
Yam house
Garden shade house
0 200 400 600 800ft
To Inonda I
To Inonda II
SCATTERED GARDENS
To Kipundotto
To Gova R.
CLAN FEAST GARDEN AREA
1963
To Old Inonda
To Old Inonda
Held by Ingaikoli clan
Land rights held at lineage level by Okaikoli lineage
Land rights held at lineage level by Ingaikoma lineage
Land rights held at lineage level by Orokaiwaka lineage
Land rights held at lineage level by Yorambaiwaka lineage
SAMBOGO R.

602 Kinship groups are of major importance in the functioning of village society in New [619] Guinea. Every individual is a member not [614] only of a parish but also of groups of closer kin, a clan, and maybe a lineage. Lacking any [613] system of payment in cash for services ren-
602 dered, the villager obtains the assistance of his
464 relatives for heavy work such as the felling of
476 big trees to make a swidden, dragging a canoe log to the beach, or making a long seine fishing net. Obligations thus incurred are met either by reciprocating when asked or by
602 making a gift. The kinship group provides
311 social stability and in practice the pattern of
241 land use is frequently decided by the senior members of the group. The planting of food crops by any member, even on land to which he does not control cultivation rights, causes no concern because rights to temporary usage may be easily granted, but the planting of tree crops, which may remain in the ground from thirty to eighty years, is a different matter. Planting tree crops is tantamount to alienating the land for at least a generation and very often some members, at least, of the kinship group object to such long-term use. Even if they do agree to an individual member planting tree crops, there is almost always the assumption that he must share any profit he makes with other members of the group. Individuals who have planted cash crops under these conditions generally become discouraged when they see the fruits of their labours being reaped by kinsmen who contribute little or nothing towards production.

657 In its attempts to stimulate production of
423 cash crops by indigenes, the Administration
177 has approved a series of land tenure laws, the last and most radical of which was passed in 1964 providing for the registration by indigenes of individual freehold title to land: a measure designed eventually to establish a European system of land tenure throughout the Territory. In the meantime, such meas-[578] ures, by pitting traditionally conservative people against the products of modern Western education, are a cause of internal conflict within indigenous society.

632 The establishment of towns, unknown be-
177 fore the coming of Europeans, has forced an even more drastic adaptation than have the
[P.3-A]

632 changes in rural areas. For a man to leave his
177 village and go to work in the town means long
632 separation from his family and from his kin,
464 an experience unheard of in the past. Separa-
602 tion from his relatives means that he may be
361 facing dangerous risks from the sorcery of
754 foreigners in an unknown country. This is one reason why migrant workers tend to live in kin clusters in the towns. Unemployment, inadequate living quarters, low wages, the necessity for paying in cash for all goods and services, and the obligation to send cash gifts to relatives in the villages, all add to the town dwellers' difficulties.

121 The three areas to be studied in this book are:

1. The north coast of Papua, near Popondetta, inhabited by the Yega people.
2. Central Bougainville, near Kieta, inhabited by the Nasioi people.
3. Port Moresby — two indigenous communities.

These three areas have been selected because they are all experiencing rapid change. Moreover, they are areas of actual or potentially great economic development. The stresses and strains put on the traditional way of life in such circumstances are particularly severe; study of such situations may help to give students a deeper appreciation of the problems faced by the people of New Guinea today.

Northern Papua and Central Bougainville are rural areas where the inhabitants have a primarily subsistence economy basically similar to that of their traditional culture, but modified by the innovations introduced by Europeans and latterly by their own educated younger members. There are, however, important differences which are summarised below.

133 *Topography.* Northern Papua is a gently-sloping, almost featureless plain, covered by rain forest interspersed with grassland, traversed by a few braided streams and many small creeks. Central Bougainville is mountainous with peaks up to 7,000 feet above sea level. Steep, tree-covered slopes, rocky outcrops, and rushing streams which rise rapidly after rain are typical features.

614 *Social.* The social structure of the Yega is
613 localised patrilineal clans, sub-clans, and lineages, inhabiting a few square miles of land.

[P.3-B]

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a Land Titles Commissioner today has the difficult task of adjudicating the rival claims of two or more groups to the same areas of forest land; each group can, moreover, produce men who can point out the trees marked by their ancestors and each group is convinced that they alone are in the right and the others merely conniving liars, who will use any methods to steal the land. The intensity of feeling which people generate over land became evident one day when I attended a meeting called by the Land Titles Commissioner to discuss rights to a small area between the Yega and a neighbouring parish. As my Yega friends and I left at the conclusion of the meeting we came on a group of Yega men in the bush fifty yards from the meeting site; they had prepared a supply of sharpened 8 foot poles 'just in case', they said, 'the others started a fight over the land!' Doubtless the other side was similarly prepared.

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The Yega parish is composed of eight named, exogamous, localised clans most of which are divided into sub-clans and lineages; descent is patrilineal. On marriage, a girl leaves her father's house and goes to live in the house provided by her husband; in past times the couple invariably went to live in the same village as the husband's father, but nowadays the rules have been greatly relaxed. Each clan has a different totemic emblem which serves as a kind of trademark. If the totem is an animal or edible plant it may not be eaten for food.

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An abbreviated table illustrating the Yega social structure is given in Table 1.
[P.6-B]

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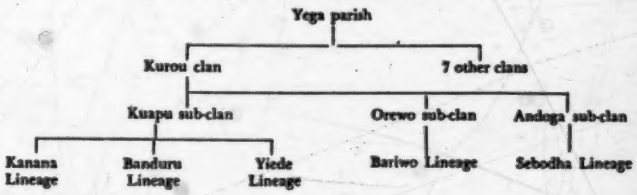
TABLE 1
Abbreviated outline of Yega social structure



[P.6-C]

LAND TENURE

614 423 Each clan controls some areas of mature rain forest, some of secondary forest, and some of grassland. Only the secondary forest is regarded as valuable garden land. The mature rain forest is potential garden land of the future, and grassland is unimportant, except for hunting. Clan land-holdings are fragmented within the confines of Yega territory. This pattern can be explained partly by the social system of land use and partly by the history of Yega expansion inland from the coast. The 613 476 423 members of different lineages belonging to the same clan normally combine to clear areas of rain forest by communal labour. When the work is completed the land is divided among the lineages which helped clear it. This is 614 423 [613] the origin of the pattern of large continuous strips of land belonging to one clan, but sub-divided amongst the sub-clans and lineages of that clan as shown in Fig. 3. The commonly elongated shape of clan holdings is the result of continuous clearing in one direction by a group of kinsmen talking and joking as they worked and thus keeping close together. The small enclaves of land shown 614 602 423 within the general Kurou clan area but belonging to other clans (Fig. 3) may be explained by affinal relationships. At various times the Kurou men cutting down the forest gave permission to some men of other clans, who had married Kurou women, to work with [428] them. These affinal kinsmen thus acquired cultivation rights to small pieces of land, which have been inherited by their descendents. The first areas cleared were close to the coast; as population increased and more land was required, the inland forests were cut down in the manner described above.

241 423 613 [614] Rights to cultivate land are controlled not by the clans but by the lineages; in each lineage the oldest member living in the parish territory has the authority to say which land shall be cleared for gardens and how the work is to be organized; fragmentation is thus reduced. In practice, however, many lineages are numerically small and the sub-clan head coordinates the work of members of the lineages

[P.7-A]

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Fig. 3. Main areas of subsistence gardens of one Yega clan (Kurou clan)

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within his sub-clan so that all sub-clan members may be found working land in close proximity. This custom was necessary in the past for mutual protection against raiders. It

(P.7-B)

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8-B]

241 423 613 is maintained today because, the Yega say, it makes the work lighter if you have someone to gossip with, and to share a watermelon or a smoke during rest breaks. The effect is that, at any one time, many people of a sub-clan are using land to which they do not hold cultivation rights.

241 423 [602] [614] The granting of temporary rights to plant a food crop is normal procedure. A right-holder frequently grants such rights to affinal kin of a different clan or even to an affinal kinsman from a neighbouring parish. An outsider granted such a right would *never* consider that he had any permanent right to Yega land. He would simply give the right-holder a [431] [426] gift or, if asked, would lend land in return.

226 [462] The Yega are coastal people and expert fishermen. Fishing is an exclusively male occupation and fish have always been an important food. Eleven reefs are known by 226 the Yega to exist off their strip of coast; rights 423 to fish over these reefs are held by the clans 614 whose ancestors first discovered them. Any person who catches fish over a reef belonging [431] to another clan must give a gift from his catch to the right-holders. Fish are caught by many different methods but the commonest nowa- [177] days is by skin-diving with a home-made spear gun and goggles made in Hong Kong.

SUBSISTENCE GARDENING

241 The Yega gardening routine is similar to the general procedure described earlier. The main features are universal inter-planting of a wide range of food plants and a shifting-field system which provides a continuous supply of fresh vegetable food. Some special features of Yega agriculture are worth noting. These are:

241 242 a) *The shifting-field cycle.* The average length of the fallow period for twenty-one swiddens investigated was 7·4 years. Such a figure is apt to be misleading. It tends to give the impression that New Guineans are much more organized than in fact they are. Some swiddens were fallowed for as little as two years . . . 'because my brother made his garden over there and I wanted to work near him!', while others had been left as long as thirteen years . . . 'because the soil isn't very good in this place.' Human factors as well as physical

21: Belshaw E-5 (1951) 1951 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mount Lamington

Before the eruption, a new type of village had been established in the Kokoda sub-district, consisting of a large village square of neatly clipped grass, with houses arranged in a single row along three sides of it. Although such villages have a monotonous regularity and lack of individual character, Europeans think of them as being æsthetically attractive, and they appeal to the administrative officer's sense of the fitness of uniformity in a well-ordered community. Attempts to introduce such villages in the Higaturu sub-district had largely failed, and the standard of housing was much lower. Further the people of this area tended to live in small clan-hamlets and resisted propaganda for them to come together into larger village groups. After the eruption, however, the general desire for new things, the sense of guilt at having resisted such innovations before, and a feeling of insecurity combined to make most of the people reconsider their earlier decisions. Although the move was not quite universal, by far the greater proportion of people decided to rebuild their homes in large village units situated close to existing or proposed jeep roads, and on administrative advice decided to follow the Kokoda village plan with substantially improved housing. Such a move raises numerous social problems.

The actual decision as to who should live together in a village group was by and large easy to make. Mr. Plant's enquiry, referred to earlier, showed that individual patrilineal clans are often segments of a maximal lineage, the other segments of which live in different areas, and this finding accords with Williams' material. But in a given hamlet there would be two or more clans, not segments of the same lineage; and a number of hamlets occupying neighbouring ground would be considered together as a single village-group. Sometimes the village-groups were combined as a large area-group. Thus we have the hamlets Pengipe, Isivita, Huworituru and Bosiseta combining as Isivita No. 1 village; Egaturu, Tambori, Koropata and Kiorata as Tambori village; and Kakita, Hamamuta, Pija and Popondota as Popondota village; and the village-groups of Isivita No. 1, Tambori and Popondota, together with separate hamlets of Barewaturu and Kombeturu constitute the area-group of Isivita No. 1. Just how far these groupings result from administrative practice we cannot tell, but it is fairly certain that they represent genuinely-felt units. This does not, however, necessarily apply to the combination of the area-groups into tribal groups. Though the people we are considering appear to be one in language and custom, and to regard neighbouring groups as somewhat different, they are vague as to an over-all group name. Williams calls this group the Wasida tribe; Plant considers the correct name to be Periho. Although I think Plant is more correct than Williams on this point, it seems to me that the people themselves do not attach much importance to such a name.

The village-group was taken by the people as the new unit of residence. The earlier hamlets would take a side or section of a side of the village square, each clan building its houses contiguously. This meant that the residential group increased in size from units of 20 to 100, to units of 125 to 400. Further, the village-groups were much closer together, sometimes now being in sight of each other along the

21: Belshaw E-5 (1951) 1951 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mount Lamington

621 main road, or even facing each other on opposite sides of it. Although this is clearly
361 the wish of the majority of the people, it does not suit all of them. There is some
731 talk that it increases the danger of sorcery, and certain individuals fear that it will mean an increase in the burden of responsibility of the village maintenance type. Thus some hamlets have not joined in the general move, and others have split on the question. Another question that cannot be answered at the moment is, how far was the earlier hamlet system a result of tendencies towards violence and strife in the society, and to what extent will such tendencies be overcome or intensified by the new arrangements?

It is of course one thing to say that a hamlet or village group has land in a new part of the country suitable for their migration, and quite another to say that each individual in the group will find such a move to be the best. Looking at the matter retrospectively, it is now possible to see that many of the answers given to administrative enquiries were framed to assure the authorities that all would be well if they left the refugee camps immediately; everything was subordinated to this end.

423 The inheritance of land is mainly patrilineal; but a man may work his wife's
● 613 land, and even, with the assent of her relatives, inherit a share in his mother's land. This means that individual members of a clan, instead of inheriting land jointly [428] from a common ancestor, often inherit and claim land in different parts of the country through matrilineal or marital influences. A clan, however, lives together and its members work land near their residence. Because of influences which lie outside the direct patrilineal line, or because of fragmentation, the person who has senior authority over this land may or may not be the genealogically senior member of [554] the clan. At any rate, he is given a special title, *enda mamo*, or "father of the land." If the clan finds it necessary to move its residence, it will also probably move its land-use area. This involves a change in the balance of land authority and the emergence possibly of a new *enda mamo*. This has in fact happened in several of the new villages.

731 At the time of my visit to the area in April, it was confidently expected that
361 once the people started building homes on the new sites, all would be well. In fact the situation is much more fluid and unsettled. The Putemo people, for instance, who had moved to a site almost contiguous with the magnificent new village of Sairope, had not yet settled questions of garden land. The village site was given to them by the Sairope people, but this meant removing themselves several hours away from the old garden lands, and they had not worked out to what extent they could claim land closer to them. In many cases individuals, say of the Popota hamlet, would agree to move with the hamlet. When they started building their home or inspecting the ground the real consequences of the move came home to them: it was not then merely an academic question. They considered alternative sites—their own near other new villages, their wife's, and their mother's. Often too the wife, on her return from Ilimo, would have something fresh to say about choice of site. Moves and uncertainty were frequent and it may be months before the final situation is satisfactorily sorted out. In such ways, incidentally, it is probable that new clans are formed

but would estimate plantings to be about 4,000 trees, occupying an area of eight acres.

Among resources which produce significant current income in Sivepe and Inonda, two other types must be briefly mentioned here, though they must be more fully discussed elsewhere. Income is earned by men who are normally resident in the villages. When these men are married and living away from the village with their families, they provide support to the home people on critical occasions and also, when villagers pay visits to them. I briefly met a few Sivepe men who settled in Port Moresby and these men were called upon, during the year of my study, to pay several plane fares and feed several men who tried their luck in looking for jobs in Port Moresby.

Secondly, men who return to the village after outside employment are bringing savings into the village which forms a significant source of revenue. Such savings often form part of the bride-wealth paid by clansmen and it is thus the affines who spend it. During the year, four Sivepe men went to Port Moresby for employment and three returned; one Sivepe man took up a job on a plantation for awhile, largely to pay overdue taxes; a number of men ordinarily working outside came home for short visits. Probably the most regular income is derived from absentees when the men go out to work by themselves, leaving their wives and children behind in the village. Six such split families existed in Sivepe; in every case, regular envelopes containing money were posted to the wife. In the cases I investigated, eight to ten envelopes arrived in a year, each containing $10 and sometimes $20. These envelopes represent a considerable percentage of village income. As long as the money keeps coming, a man knows that his relations will closely watch his wife and will carry out obligations towards his affines; thus, his wife will be kept under strong moral constraint from all sides. It would be cynical to explain the generosity with which men maintain their wives wholly by such motives, but the Orokaiva do regard "looking after" the wives of absentees as a valuable service and the envelopes are thus a form of repayment. "Looking after" the wife and children, indeed, comprises a wide range of services which must be performed by men of the lineage and which are a reasonable charge against the income of a wage earner. As most places of employment in Papua-New Guinea do not provide for married accommodation, we may regard villagers and migrants as engaged in a joint economic enterprise in which each group performs services and obtains benefits.

At the time of the eruption several Sivepe men were working on plantations; today, Sivepe people are interested only in the better-paid town jobs, mostly in Port Moresby. In Inonda, however, two men often take up short spells of plantation work while a third, trained as a driver by an anthropologist, has a regular government job in Popondetta.

CHAPTER III: Social Environment

Section 1: Opportunity for Contact with Outsiders

731 The experience of the eruption led to outside contacts that would not otherwise have occurred. These outside contacts obviously
177 were among the basic causes of social changes arising out of the eruption. In the present study, it is by no means easy to distinguish between outside contacts which arose out of the eruption, directly or indirectly, and those which existed prior to the eruption or were the result of social changes unconnected with the
121 eruption. But before we can address ourselves to this substantive question, it must first be clear what we shall mean by "outside contacts." The term "outsiders" is used repeatedly in Professor Barnett's specification of the variables to be included in the comparative study. What, exactly, are outsiders? In order to answer this question, I have to offer a few generalizations about Orokaiva social structure for which the documentation cannot be included here. A full treatment is given in my doctoral dissertation.

571 We may view the Orokaiva picture of his social universe as a set of widening concentric circles: family, local clan group, village, the clan within limits of kinship recognition, the consanguineal group within limits of kinship recognition, a group of contiguous friendly villages, the wider set of persons with which an individual entertains institutionalized friendship links, while beyond these limits we may discern even wider circles which become evident in special circumstances. This is an entirely
619 ego-centred model. I saw no evidence of groups of villages which
628 displayed a true corporate unity. Thus village A would have close relations with villages B and C, but village B would not have similarly close bonds with A and C. More likely, villages B and C would treat each other with marked reserve and B would have close relations with A and D; C would have close relations with A and E.

571 Patrilineages were very shallow in genealogical depth.
613 Though the kinship structure would need to be classified as predominantly patrilineal, I noted a strong consanguineal emphasis.
591 Bonds based on real or fictional siblingship, affinity, matrilineality, institutionalized friendship and--above all--residence and an uninterrupted flow of reciprocal transactions were stronger than all but the closest patrilineal bonds. Though residence was predominantly patri-virilocal, there were many non-agnates in local groups sharing the same clan name; inheritance was not necessarily in the patriline.

628 together, the church council, with representatives from all the
631 villages, deliberated together. This cooperation was a gradual
731 development occurring over the years under consideration; it will be traced in detail in a later chapter. The setting up of wards under the Higaturu Local Government Council led to further occasions [794] for formal cooperation between villages belonging to the same ward. It was characteristic of both the church and the government council [797] organizations that they divided the Sasembata district into areas with definite boundaries, each area comprising several villages. The church recognized two such divisions, the government council three. I have already emphasized that the idea of such boundaries [192] was a novel one (see Map IX).[A] It is beginning to have two kinds of effect: first, the strengthening of bonds between villages within the same ward or the same section of a mission parish (e.g., bonds between Sivepe and Isoge, which up to now have not been closely allied) and secondly, the loosening of bonds between villages divided by the boundaries which are now being defined (e.g., bonds between Sivepe and Kongohambo, hitherto closely allied, but now separated by administrative procedures).

628 These generalizations will be documented below; my task at
423 present is to consider contacts between Sivepe and closely allied
578 villages arising out of the eruption and relocation. Here inter-village cooperation was a far less significant factor than inter-village competition, especially for use of the land. One of the deep anxieties of the Orokaiva in the refugee camps and later in resettlement villages such as Irihambo, Awala, Kongohambo was that if the people did not return to their land, some others might decide to occupy it and it might be impossible to dislodge them. This was a very real danger because neither in 1951 nor at present is there in existence a land register from which the ownership of individual or village parcels may be unequivocally established. The Orokaiva plant boundary trees round their blocks of land and [685] there is a taboo on interfering with these. This is not merely a supernatural taboo; interference with a boundary justifies a killing. It is far less clear, however, just what rights a person holds in a particular parcel. As this is a crucial issue in the whole history of Orokaiva resettlement, I should explain this in some detail.

Crocombe and Hogbin provide an excellent example of the
423 ambiguity of Orokaiva land rights. After wars with the Sangara,
613 both the Andiriha and the Tandai'undi clans were driven from their villages and settled down together in a village named Sambogo. [621] Later, some of the Andiriha set up Inonda on land to which the Tandai'undi had superior rights. At present, this land is used by Andiriha, and upon inquiring into the legal basis of tenure I was given the following explanation. Two daughters of the Tandai'undi owner's lineage married into Andiriha and were given the Inonda [428] land to "look after." As is usual among Orokaiva, this right to

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 8--Analyst]

423 "look after" the land was passed on to the daughters' sons, who
613 now hold it. This arrangement is something like a perpetual,
428 inheritable usehold, but should the lineage of the useholders die out, the land would revert to the Tandai'undi, as Crocombe and Hogbin point out. Furthermore, should the present occupants decide to settle elsewhere, the land would again revert to Tandai'undi. They have residuary rights and, as Crocombe and Hogbin again point out, they are not alone to have them, for another neighboring group (the Urio people) likewise have residuary rights. In these circumstances it is understandable that, for instance, the people of Inonda would be most concerned if they were forced to settle, even temporarily, away from their own lands.

We find the same pattern in Sivepe. First of all, the blocks of land over which individuals had perpetual useholds contained, in almost every case, some blocks which had not been inherited through the patriline. Secondly, even those blocks which had been so inherited were often held in common with others belonging to a different village and nowadays counting themselves as belonging to a different clan, even though agnatic links could sometimes be
731 traced. On the day of the eruption, or within the four days
361 following it, both Sivepe and the closely allied villages were evacuated, and they were together at Ilimo. When the camp was
423 disbanded, a large resettlement village was established in Kongohambo, on land belonging, at least in part, to Sivepe villagers of the Seho clan. Almost 1,000 people were settled there so that garden land in the vicinity of Kongohambo became very highly prized. Meanwhile, the government desired to resettle the Sivepe people in Awala. It seems that the Sivepe people did stay in Awala for three months, after which the Jegase and Timunu clan groups received permission to return to their land in Sivepe. The third Sivepe clan group, Seho, stayed on in Awala, but planted gardens in the Sivepe area.

At this point, the Seho people evidently felt reasonably secure; a year later, however, they joined the other clans in Pamba and together built the new village of Sivepe. When I asked Seho informants why they had returned they told me it was because of fear of losing their land. Now this danger did not come from the other Sivepe clans, who were mostly affines of the Seho people and whose return to their home village evidently caused no great concern to the Seho people in 1951. The danger came from Kongohambo which adjoined the Seho lands. Some Kongohambo people had residual rights over some of this land; if the Seho people did not return, they would undoubtedly have had some trouble in getting it back.

The government, though aware of this possibility, had
[657] imagined that Sivepe people would not be too concerned, seeing that they had been offered garden land at Awala. Government reasoning can be traced from the discussions by Nelshaw and Keesing and also from a long memorandum by Plant (see bibliography), a public servant

794 organised contact. After each Sunday service, a meeting of the church council is held at the church, presided over by the pastor, at which the needs of the parish are discussed. The pastor may also call [431] meetings during the week. No payment is ever made for work done for the church, but the pastor has on occasion made a small distribution of tobacco, at which the people were very pleased. Much of the burden falls on the member of the church council for each of the villages. [623] While the after-service meetings at the church are open to all church members, the council has its own meetings and the member for the village has an especially close relationship with the church. It is he who calls together the people in the morning when building work is to be done, or who makes other announcements, in the usual way by standing in front of his house in the evening and speaking in the dark, heard by everyone in the houses.

614 This man belongs to the plant emblem group baptised in the early 613 1950's, but interestingly enough he did not, like most of the early converts belong to the Jegasa clan. Plant emblem groups (or lineages) 794 are not necessarily segments of a clan and in this case the sasaha plant emblem group includes a few Seho people, who were baptised with the rest of their lineage. It was one of these Seho men who was chosen as church councillor, the choice being reportedly made by the [224] pastor himself. Shortly before my arrival in Sivepe, this man was given the office of hunting expert. Previous to this, every clan had had its own hunting expert, but now this church council member was the only one. The task of the hunting expert is the performance of magic prior to a collective hunt, decision of the time and place and the privilege of being the first man who enters the bush, together with his wife, for hunting. "What kind of magic does Dunstan perform?" I inquired. He invites the pastor down to the village and the pastor blesses the guns and other appurtenances of the hunt, while the old magic is no longer performed. In the neighbouring village of Sasembata, I found that this innovation had not been adopted.

794 In Inonda, all religious organisation was in the hands of the 184 transport driver and one-time councillor, who played the role of lay-preacher on Sundays, using as a chapel a building originally intended for the storage of coffee. Church was attended by the Christian half of the village but I saw no Christian activities apart from the weekly service. The mission teachers and the Anglican school were located at Hohota, three miles away from Inonda. Most of the modern organisation roles noted for Sivepe were, in fact, found at Inonda but every one of them was allocated to the same man, the transport driver. He acted as "committee;" he made the kind of speeches that were made in Sivepe by the councillor and the sanitary inspector (these functionaries very rarely came to Inonda); he was middleman for the mission; he was agricultural entrepreneur and his father was the feasting leader, leaving to him the day-to-day organisation of the feast given in June, 1967. The price for this far-reaching centralisation was a lack of participation in most of the activities by at least half the population, whereas participation was far more general at Sivepe.

361 Comparing Inonda and Sivepa, we notice that Inonda follows more closely the spatial arrangements that are considered ideal for modern villages, but that Inonda has remained static in size for a number of decades. Sivepa shows irregularities in spatial arrangement, but has rapidly increased in size in accordance with Australian ideas of village development. The fusion of 1948 doubled its traditional size, while a lineage and a local clan group were added since. These increments have as yet been imperfectly absorbed.

Section 3: Social Groups

621 Within a village, two kinds of kinship group larger than the
592 elementary family may be distinguished, namely the javo wahai (clan)
616 and the hae (lineage, or plant emblem group). We may also distinguish two kinds of residential group, the occupants of a bende or side and
614 of a bande or house. On the nature of the clan I shall be brief here, reserving detailed documentation for my doctoral dissertation. It seems to me mainly a political unit, held together by--in some but not all cases--belief in common descent from a single patrilineal ancestor, by the common name (javo) by which they call themselves and which they call out when slaying an enemy or a pig or in other moments of great stress, by the recognition of obligations towards and claims upon others who bear the same clan name. Rimoldi (1966: 33) is right when he calls the Orokaiva clan "only a social category."

613 The word hae means "plant emblem," but the word is also used to denote collectively all persons sharing the same plant emblem. The clan name (javo wahai) is transmitted only patrilineally, but the transmission of the hae is more complex. A person regards his hae, which may be any plant or part of a plant, or another natural substance, as a part of his own identity. He may respect it in the manner of a totem but such avoidances seem always to have been to some extent a matter of personal choice. (Williams, 1930: 127-218) The hae is used in a number of social contexts as a mark of identity. Williams seemed to believe that a hae was the distinguishing mark of a clan, but later investigators (Crocombe and Hogbin, Rimoldi) take it to be the distinguishing mark of a lineage.

It is indeed true that when a man has a certain hae his children will also use it. The children will also, on occasion, use the hae of their mother, especially when they are on the land of their maternal kinsfolk. There are other, more idiosyncratic forms of inheritance: one man uses the hae of a hereditary friend when he is on the land which passed into the possession of his family through that friend. Normally, maternal hae are not inherited further; no person uses the hae of his mother's mother, or of his father's mother. In these circumstances it is reasonable to assume that a man who has the same hae as oneself is of the same blood. This is not to be understood

613 in terms of a rigorous genealogical model, which is unfamiliar to Orokaiva, but in the sense that both are identified with the same plant or substance and thus very closely akin.

While clan affiliation is, in practise, determined by political [614] considerations, and a person may decide, upon calculations of family advantage, to assume a new clan name, the hae is utterly unpolitical and hae affiliation is a better indication of true blood relationship than membership of the same clan. In the hae, but not the clan, a kind of hierarchical classificatory principle may be found. To explain this, I should first point out that most informants I interviewed had at least four hae, two paternal and two maternal ones, and not infrequently I recorded as many as three paternal hae, and a total of five. Many people, when using a hae as a mark of identity, for instance on the road, to show they had been there, would actually use two hae plants. For instance, almost everyone in the district used the hae called sasaha (a grass), but if another hae, tandere, was added, a person finding these signs would be able to identify the owner as one of a quite limited group of people. For the purpose of this discussion, I shall use the word hae as meaning such a combination of emblems which sufficiently define identity. Such a combination of hae never defines an individual or even an extended family as usually several extended families share the same combination. But the patrilineal units thus defined are always smaller than a clan. To this extent, earlier authors are thus justified in calling them "lineages." It would be wrong to suppose, however, that the same combination of hae cannot be shared by fellow villagers belonging to different clans, for this is often found. Thus, those translating the word hae as "lineage" should be careful to avoid the implication that such "lineages" are segments of clans.

The population of Sivepe is very hard to classify into hae because I noted 42 hae in use, only 11 of which were shared by at least four adults. Nonetheless, the fact that two persons share a hae is often a valuable clue pointing to a close relationship that is of considerable social significance, but that might otherwise be [621] ignored as idiosyncratic. By far the closest bond that can exist between the members of different extended families is that they share [582] both a clan name and common hae. When such a bond exists, rules of exogamy are stringently enforced. These rules also apply, but less stringently, if two persons share the same clan name, but no hae, or if they share a hae but no clan name.

614 For our present purpose, it will be most convenient if we 621 classify Sivepe households according to the clanname of that person in the household who is what Fischer (1958) has called the "sponsor," i.e., the person by whose presence in the household the residence of the family in Sivepe can be explained. On that basis, 13 households and the bachelors' house may be classified as Jegase, eight households as Seho and six as Sorovi, as in the first half of 1967. It is desirable, however, to observe how rapidly this pattern of clan

361 villages (Garombi, Soroputa, Hohorita). When New Sivepa was built it had become a familiar procedure and was simply copied from other villages.
614 It is an interesting adaptive institution, and the Orokaiva answer to
616 Australian pressure towards the building of multi-clan villages.

Belshaw clearly stated the problem that was involved: "How far
[177] was the earlier hamlet system the result of tendencies towards violence and strife in the society, and to what extent will such tendencies be overcome or intensified by the new arrangements?" (1951: 246) It can now be seen that diametric structure was the Orokaiva answer to this danger of violence and strife. While affines were separated by the araha, the araha was widened so it could be used as a playing field, as happened at Sivepa but by no means in all the villages.

614 — Rimoldi classified the Jegase clan into four lineages (Berekipa, Sesewopa, Arehu, Bebehupa) and one extinct lineage (Hambai). He
613 further distinguished two Timusu lineages (Hajejopa, Pekuma), which should now be added to the Jegase list. Certainly, each of these six groups have common plant emblems not shared by the others; the lineages are therefore each part of a distinctive plant emblem group. Families of the same plant emblem group make no particular efforts to reside close together; the social functions of "lineage" are mutual assistance and close solidarity. The importance of the concept of "lineage" varies from clan to clan; while Jegase has this relatively long list of lineage names, Seho has no such list. Conversely, while Jegase has no common ancestor upon which all members of the clan are agreed, Seho has a human eponymous ancestor about whom a myth is told. Seho also has a totem animal (Garo = wallaby) while Jegase is actually the name of the totem animal recognised by all its members. It is a small flying insect present in great numbers around the taro leaves. It is possible, however, to classify Seho according to groups which share plant emblems and investigation shows that both clans equally are the result of fairly recent fusions; the lineages or plant emblem groups, however, are of somewhat greater antiquity. I saw evidence of the creation of new plant emblems and of the dying off of old plant emblems, so that even the plant emblems do not survive indefinitely. But Orokaiva rightly regard the plant emblem as sign of a relationship of greater antiquity, for clan allegiance can be changed in a day whereas the plant emblem group can always be traced back beyond human memory, i.e., beyond 50 years or so.

Inonda, in the same period, has developed in the direction of
621 a one-clan village. In 1951, out of 12 households, eight were of the
614 Andiriha clan and three of Jego'undi. In 1966, the wife in this remaining household had died and the widower, with his four children, moved into an Andiriha household. As in Sivepa, many of the people now calling themselves Andiriha were not born with that clan name, but took it after settling in Inonda. Crocombe and Hogbin divided the Andiriha local clan group of Inonda into four "lineages," for which they quoted, in each case, a single plant emblem (1963: 17). They

462 women can carry produce to market. Coffee, however, is in a different
[562] category because the bags are of a special type, supplied by the coffee
422] factory and a specifically male property.

Section 3: Education, Occupational Skills, Money Income

241 In the last section, dealing with the division of labour, I
613 did not introduce the question whether there were differences in this
614 respect between the various social groups--lineages and clans. The main differentiation noted by earlier authors was that between cash-croppers and those engaging only in subsistence gardening. Now in this respect there was no noticeable difference between clans in Sivepa: out of 1,100 coffee trees growing in Sivepa in 1962, 503 belonged to Jegase and Timunu and the rest to Seho, while in Inonda the coffee growers belonged to two Andiriha lineages. In Sivepa today most men grow coffee, and this applies equally to the Jegase, Seho and Sorovi clans; the exceptions are elderly people. There are, however, very significant differences in other respects between socio-economic patterns in the Jegase and Seho clans--differences which are obvious even on very superficial inquiry.

614 A minor imbalance in the age distribution of the two clans is
561 noticed at once from the statistics: the Jegase householders are predominantly in the 35-45 year age group whereas Seho is predominantly
[535] a little older (45-55 years). Hence the dance group formed in Sivepa is at present almost wholly composed of men of the Jegase clan. The
[177] age difference happens to be very significant in various indices of
[871] acculturation, as the first school was established at Sasembata in 1945, and the custom of looking for wage labour outside the district
[167] did not become widespread until about the same time. While some Jegase people know some English, none of the Seho people over 35 speak any
[191] at all. Furthermore, the first village constable and the first councillor in Sivepa were both Jegase men who had taken up employment well before the second world war. During the years they held these posts (1939-1965), Seho had much less contact with government.

614 The statistics (Table 20) show that Jegase male adults have
463 slightly more school education than Seho adults but a great deal more occupational experience. This experience, for both clans, did not include work requiring much formal training; it was labour on rubber and cocoa plantations, on the roads, assistance with land surveys,
[177] laundry work, service as a "houseboy," and in the A.P.C. Nonetheless, an intelligent man thrown into these kinds of situation can find out a good deal about the outside world; in later dealings with external agencies, he is able to make more informed judgments. A further opportunity for such experience was offered the Jegase clan when the Australian National University, which made Sivepa into a sample village for several studies (see below, Chapter VII), decided to concentrate

A [See Cat. 116, p. 227--Analyst]